

## The

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## THE SPEECH OF POPE URBAN II. AT CLERMONT, 1095

THE belief that Peter the Hermit was the instigator of the first crusade has long been abandoned. To Pope Urban II. belongs the credit, or the responsibility, for the movement. On November 27, 1095,<sup>1</sup> at the Council of Clermont, he delivered the address which led so many thousands to take the cross.<sup>2</sup> There are several versions of this speech, but it cannot be proved that any one of them was written until a number of years after the Council. As these differ decidedly in their expressions, it has been assumed<sup>3</sup> that it is impossible to determine what the pope actually said. It is the purpose of this paper to show by an examination of the various versions that, in spite of the verbal differences, there is a remarkable agreement among the contemporary reporters,<sup>4</sup> and consequently that it is possible to ascertain the subjects which the pope discussed.

<sup>1</sup> See Hagenmeyer, *Chronologie*, No. 9, in *Revue de l'Orient Latin*, VI. 222.

<sup>2</sup> Ekkehard, *MGSS.*, VI. 213, says that one hundred thousand took the cross at Clermont. For the results of his speech, cf. Wilken, *Kreuzzüge*, I. 52.

<sup>3</sup> Sybel, *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), 185: "Dem rechten Historiker, wenn er nicht auf die Darstellung der umgebenden Thatsachen und auf eine bereite Phantasie seines Lesers vertrauen will, bleibt hier nichts übrig, als eine selbständige Schöpfung, eine erdichtete Wahrheit zu versuchen."

<sup>4</sup> Almost all modern historians of the crusades have given a summary of Urban's speech. Generally they have been content to take one version (those given by William of Tyre, Robert, and Fulcher have been most frequently selected) and follow it. Others have combined arbitrarily statements from different versions. The best and latest summary is by Röhricht, in his *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzuges*, 20: "Die Rede Urbans ist uns vielfach überliefert, aber nicht genau. Ohne Frage bildete den Inhalt ein Klageruf über die von den Ungläubigen gegen die Christen im heiligen Lande verübten Gewaltthaten, ein Kriegsruf an die gesamte Christenheit des Abendlandes, die Feinde aus dem Lande der Verheissung hinauszutreiben und es wieder den Christen zurückzugeben, ein Trostruf, dass Christus den Seinen helfen und Sieg verleihen werde." The best discussion is also by Röhricht, *ibid.* 235-239.

The important versions are given by Fulcher of Chartres,<sup>1</sup> Robert the Monk,<sup>2</sup> Baldric of Dol,<sup>3</sup> Guibert of Nogent,<sup>4</sup> and William of Malmesbury.<sup>5</sup> Those of William of Tyre, Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, and others are, as will be noted later, of little importance.

Fulcher of Chartres, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a very brief account of Urban's exhortation.<sup>6</sup> But he prefaces it by a summary of the pope's speech relative to the evil conditions in the West.<sup>7</sup> This was an address to the clergy who were at the Council. At its close the Truce of God was proclaimed and all who were present promised to observe it. Then Urban began his exhortation. This is the portion of Fulcher's account which must be compared with the versions given by the others. It is accepted as the most trustworthy of all by Hagenmeyer<sup>8</sup> and Röhricht.<sup>9</sup> They state that Fulcher was present at the Council.<sup>10</sup> Hagenmeyer thinks that his account was written down within a short time, surely not later than about 1100.<sup>11</sup> The date usually given for the completion of the first part of his history is 1105.<sup>12</sup>

Robert the Monk, in his *Historia Iherosolymitana*, gives a somewhat longer account. He states in his preface that he was commissioned to write the history because he was at Clermont.<sup>13</sup> It is not possible to determine the time when he wrote; certainly it was not before 1101-1102<sup>14</sup>; probably it was a few years later.<sup>15</sup> He does not have the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but he does give a summary of the pope's second speech to the clergy,<sup>16</sup> after

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux*, III. 322-324. (Hereafter this series will be cited as *Recueil*.)

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil*, III. 727-730.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 12-15.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, IV. 137-140.

<sup>5</sup> *De Gestis Regum Anglorum*, edited by Stubbs, Rolls Series, II. 393-398.

<sup>6</sup> Ch. 3.

<sup>7</sup> Ch. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Ekkehard's *Iherosolymita*, p. 90. (Hereafter quoted as HE.)

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

<sup>10</sup> In 1877, Hagenmeyer wrote (HE, p. 90), "Ohne Zweifel war er selbst auch auf dem Concil anwesend." In 1879, in *Peter der Eremit*, p. 72, he referred to him as an "Ohrenzeuge", and he has used the same term in his later writings. Röhricht, *op. cit.*, also called him an "Ohrenzeuge". (Molinier, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France*, No. 2123, says he was present.) They give no reference and I have not been able to find in his writings any proof that he was present. Whether present or not, he was well informed, as will be apparent later.

<sup>11</sup> HE, p. 90.

<sup>12</sup> Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2123.

<sup>13</sup> "Praecipit igitur mihi ut qui Clari Montis Concilio interfui," *Recueil*, III. 721.

<sup>14</sup> Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*, p. xli.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2118.

<sup>16</sup> The pope made three speeches. First he addressed the clergy, urging a reform. (Fulcher, bk. 1., ch. 2. Baldric, "quae ad fidem pertinebant praemissis," *Recueil*, IV. 12F. Cf. William of Malmesbury's opening sentences, § 347.) This speech was probably made on the same day as, and just before, the exhortation

the completion of the exhortation.<sup>1</sup> This portion of his account should be omitted in comparing it with the other versions. His version has frequently been preferred by later historians.

Baldric of Bourgueil, archbishop of Dol, probably wrote his *Historia Ierosolimitana* soon after 1107.<sup>2</sup> He states in two different passages that he was at the Council. He does not give the first speech of Urban to the clergy, but has a brief summary of the second. His account was regarded by Ranke as the best.<sup>3</sup>

Guibert, abbot of Nogent, wrote the first portion of his *Gesta Dei per Francos* not later than 1108.<sup>4</sup> Sybel,<sup>5</sup> Hagenmeyer,<sup>7</sup> and Röhricht<sup>8</sup> state that he was present at Clermont.<sup>9</sup> Guibert knew Fulcher's *Historia* and used it for the later portions of his work, but he did not copy Fulcher's version of the speech. His report differs decidedly from those given by the others. He makes no mention of either address to the clergy.

William of Malmesbury, although a contemporary, did not write his version until thirty or more years after the Council.<sup>10</sup> It has been regarded as of little value. Hagenmeyer and Röhricht<sup>11</sup> state that it is based upon Fulcher's account. This is true for portions but not for the whole of William's version. He has some points that he could not have drawn from Fulcher. He says that his

to take the cross. The third speech was to the clergy (*cf.* Baldric and Robert), probably on the following day, the last day of the Council (*Histoire Générale de Languedoc*, ed. Privat, III. 480). It consisted of practical directions to insure the success of the undertaking.

<sup>1</sup> *Recueil*, III. 729 to end of chapter. The two speeches, however, are represented by Robert as continuous.

<sup>2</sup> Molinier, *Sources*, No. 2120.

<sup>3</sup> "Inter omnes autem in eodem concilio, nobis videntibus," in *Recueil*, IV. 15G. "Solutum est concilium, et nos unus quisque properantes redimus ad propria," *ibid.*, 16D.

<sup>4</sup> *Weltgeschichte*, VIII. 82.

<sup>5</sup> See Thurot, in *Revue Historique*, pp. 104-111, and in *Recueil*, IV. xv-xx.

<sup>6</sup> *Geschichte des Ersten Kreuzzugs* (2d ed.), p. 33.

<sup>7</sup> HE, p. 89; *Peter der Eremit*, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 235.

<sup>9</sup> They cite no reference, and I have not been able to find any proof of his presence. Some passages in his work would indicate that he was not present: (1) He gives the date for the Council as 1097 and the thirty-seventh year of Philip's reign; of course, this error may have been due to a copyist. Bongars corrected it in his edition of Guibert. (2) He apologized for his ignorance of the name of the bishop of Puy, who was appointed papal legate at Clermont. "De nomine autem Podiensis episcopi diu haesi, . . . non enim in meo habebatur exemplari." Preface, *Recueil*, IV. 121. "Podiensis urbis episcopo (cujus nomen doleo, quia neque usquam repperi nec audivi)." Bk. II., ch. 5, *ibid.*, 140.

<sup>10</sup> Stuhls's preface to Vol. I., R. S., p. xlii.

<sup>11</sup> HE, p. 89; Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 239. The latter, however, quotes William's own statement as to his sources.

informants were persons who had heard the speech.<sup>1</sup> There seems to be no more reason for doubting this than any other uncorroborated statement; and his version ought certainly to be considered. The other reports of the speech are obviously copied<sup>2</sup> or fictitious. To the latter class belongs the speech in William of Tyre,<sup>3</sup> which has so often been regarded as the most correct version. It has no independent value.<sup>4</sup>

The reconstruction of the exhortation must be based upon the versions of Robert and Baldric, who say that they were at Clermont; of Fulcher and Guibert, who may have been present; and of William of Malmesbury, who says that his information was derived from persons who were present. All, except Fulcher, state that they do not reproduce the exact words of the pope.<sup>5</sup> All that can be attempted, therefore, is a reconstruction of the outline of the exhortation.

This reconstruction is somewhat difficult inasmuch as the three separate speeches<sup>6</sup> of the pope have been confused to some extent in the different versions. The task of reconstruction seems to be further complicated by the existence of points of resemblance between some versions of the speech and passages in the famous letter of the Emperor Alexius to Count Robert of Flanders.<sup>7</sup> The genuineness and date of the letter have long been subjects of controversy.<sup>8</sup> To quote only a few of the more important opinions: Riant thought the letter was based in part upon sermons of Urban II. and was the work of a forger in 1098-1099.<sup>9</sup> Chalandon believes the letter was forged in 1098-1099, but was based in part upon a genuine letter of 1088-1089.<sup>10</sup> Hagenmeyer dates it 1088;

<sup>1</sup> R. S., II. 393, "quem, sicut ab auditoribus accepi, placuit posteris transmittere integro verborum sensu custodito."

<sup>2</sup> E. g., Ordericus Vitalis, Roger of Wendover, *Breviarium passagii in Terram Sanctam*.

<sup>3</sup> Röhricht, *op. cit.*, p. 239, "eine freie Erfindung, allerdings ein Meisterstück seiner Art".

<sup>4</sup> Among the subjects which he inserts in the speech is the letter which Peter the Hermit had brought from the East.

<sup>5</sup> Robert, "Haec et id genus plurima peroravit." *Recueil*, III. 729C. Baldric, "His vel hujus modi aliis a domino," *ibid.*, IV. 15G. Guibert, "His ergo, etsi non verbis, tamen intentionibus usus est," *ibid.*, 137E. Cf. William of Malmesbury, as cited in note 1, above.

<sup>6</sup> See note 16, p. 232.

<sup>7</sup> Best editions in Riant, *Alexii Comneni Epistola ad Robertum Flandrensem*; and in Hagenmeyer, *Krenszugsbriefe*, pp. 130-136.

<sup>8</sup> See *ibid.*, 10-42; Riant, *op. cit.*, preface; and "Inventaire critique des lettres historiques", in *Archives de l'Orient Latin*, I. 71-89; Chalandon, *Règne d'Alexis I<sup>er</sup> Comnène*, pp. 325-336.

<sup>9</sup> *Inventaire*, A. O. L., I. 74.

<sup>10</sup> *Alexis*, p. 335.



G. Paris, about 1090; Vasiljevski, about 1091.<sup>1</sup> Chalandon says: "On ne peut savoir si ce sont les sermons d'Urbain qui ont servi de source à l'épistola ou si, au contraire, ce ne sont pas les rédacteurs de ces prétendus sermons qui ont utilisé cette dernière."<sup>2</sup> There is too great a resemblance between portions of the letter and passages in some of the versions for both to be original; *e. g.*, the account of the cruelties and the pollution of the holy places in Robert and in the letter.

It is to be noted, however, that if the letter was a source, no one in his version used it for more than a few points,<sup>3</sup> and in each case other accounts of the speech mention these same points in a manner that shows no influence of the letter. Consequently it seems almost certain that these subjects were mentioned by the pope, and hence the letter need not be considered in the analysis. It is not necessary, either, to discuss the question whether Urban was influenced by the letter or whether, on the other hand, the letter was based upon Urban's speech.<sup>4</sup> It seems probable that the letter, whichever date is taken for its composition, was in existence before any of the versions which have parallel passages; and that the writers of these used it. Believing that Urban discussed a subject, it would be the most natural thing for Robert or Baldric or William to borrow from any source at hand either a pertinent account or a phrase which struck his fancy. This was such a common practice in the middle ages that it would have been remarkable if they had not done it. The letter, therefore, probably influenced the mode of expression in some versions, but not the general outline.

In order to ascertain what Pope Urban actually said it is now necessary to analyze each version of the speech, and to ascertain the separate facts given in each. It is to be expected *a priori* that the ideas will be expressed in different words and that each writer will dwell upon the portions of greatest interest to him, passing lightly over other portions. After such an analysis, it will be possible to select the facts which seem to be well vouched for and thus to determine the main outline of the pope's remarks. Accordingly the separate facts will now be taken up; those given in Fulcher's version will be used first; and in each case it will be noted

<sup>1</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Kreuzzugsbriefe*, pp. 10-24.

<sup>2</sup> P. 330.

<sup>3</sup> In addition to the example above, only a single point in Baldric, possibly one in Guibert, several in William. But each one, if he did use the letter, took a different part.

<sup>4</sup> It would be an easy but unprofitable task to build up an ingenious argument for either point of view.

when the same fact is cited by any of the others. Then the other speeches will be analyzed in the same manner, and in the following order: Robert, Baldric, Guibert, William of Malmesbury.

*Necessity of aiding the brethren in the East.* Found in all.<sup>1</sup>

*Appeals for aid from the East.* Found in Fulcher,<sup>2</sup> Robert,<sup>3</sup> and possibly in Baldric.<sup>4</sup> Guibert does not mention these appeals in his account of the speech, but refers, in the preceding chapter, to the gifts and prayers of the emperor by which Urban was moved.<sup>5</sup> This point is not referred to by William of Malmesbury.

*Victorious advance of the Turks.* Mentioned by Fulcher<sup>6</sup> and Robert.<sup>7</sup> Baldric<sup>8</sup> and Guibert have no such explicit mention, but all the earlier portion in each of their speeches presupposes the knowledge of such a conquest. On the other hand, William of Malmesbury has a long list of the provinces which the Turks had conquered.<sup>9</sup>

*Sufferings of the Christians in the East.* Mentioned very

<sup>1</sup> Fulcher, ch. 3: "Quoniam, o filii Dei, si pacem apud vos tenendam et Ecclesiae jura conservanda fideliter sustentare viriliter solito polliciti Deo estis, exstat operae pretium ut insuper ad quoddam aliud Dei negotium et vestrum, emendatione deifica nuper vegetati, probitatis vestrae validitatem versetis. Necesse est enim, quatinus confratribus vestris in Orientali plaga conversantibus, auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato indigis, accelerato itinere succurratis." *Recueil*, III. 323. "O quanta impropria vobis ab ipso Domino imputabuntur, si eos non juveritis qui professione Christiana censentur, sicut et vos!" *Ibid.*, 324. It is not necessary to quote special passages from the other speeches, as in each case this is the main purport.

<sup>2</sup> "Auxilio vestro jam saepe acclamato." *Ibid.*, 323F.

<sup>3</sup> "Ab Iherosolymorum finibus et urbe Constantinopolitana relatio gravis emersit et saepissime jam ad aures nostras pervenit." *Ibid.*, 727C-D.

<sup>4</sup> "Audivimus, fratres dilectissimi, et audistis, . . . quantis calamitatibus, quantis incommoditatibus, quam diris contritionibus, in Jerusalem et in Antiochia et in ceteris Orientalis plagae civitatibus, Christiani . . . flagellantur, opprimuntur, injuriuntur. Germani fratres vestri, . . . aut inter nos mendicant." *Ibid.*, IV. 12-13.

<sup>5</sup> "Ab Alexi Graecorum principe magnis honoraretur exequiis et precibus . . . pulsaretur." *Ibid.*, 135 C-D. Note also his mention of Constantinople near the beginning of the speech.

<sup>6</sup> "Invaserunt enim eos, sicuti plerisque vestrum jam dictum est, usque mare Mediterraneum, ad illud scilicet quod dicunt Brachium Sancti Georgii, Turci, gens Persica, qui, apud Romaniae fines, terras Christianorum magis magisque occupando, lite bellica jam septuplicata victos superaverunt," pp. 323-324.

<sup>7</sup> "Gens regni Persarum . . . terras illorum Christianorum invaserit," p. 727D. "Regnum Graecorum jam ab eis ita emutilatum est et suis usibus emancipatum quod transiri non potest itinere duorum mensium," p. 728A.

<sup>8</sup> "Nequam homines sanctas praeoccupavere civitates: Turci spurii et immundi nostris fratribus dominantur," p. 13B. Also the possession of Antioch and Jerusalem by the Turks is mentioned.

<sup>9</sup> "Syriam, Armeniam, omnem postremo Asiam Minorem, cujus provinciae sunt Bithinia, Frigia, Galatia, Lidia, Caria, Pamphilia, Isauria, Licia, Cilicia, occupaverunt," p. 394. This may have been derived from the letter of Alexius.

briefly by Fulcher,<sup>1</sup> dwelt upon at great length by Robert,<sup>2</sup> to a lesser degree by Baldric<sup>3</sup> and William.<sup>4</sup> Guibert does not mention this subject, but does dwell upon the sufferings of the pilgrims.<sup>5</sup>

*Desecration or destruction of the churches and holy places.* Mentioned by Fulcher,<sup>6</sup> by Robert,<sup>7</sup> at great length by Baldric,<sup>8</sup> and slightly by William.<sup>9</sup> Guibert also mentions this, but treats it under the special sanctity of Jerusalem.<sup>10</sup>

*This is God's work.* Mentioned explicitly by Fulcher<sup>11</sup>; it is, in fact, the underlying thought in all the versions. Robert expresses this idea in his preface, "Hoc enim non fuit humanum opus, sed divinum." In his account of Urban's second speech to the clergy, the pope refers their unanimity to God's direct agency.<sup>12</sup> Other heads of the speech, to be noted later, bring out this idea forcibly.<sup>13</sup>

*Rich and poor alike ought to go.* Mentioned by Fulcher,<sup>14</sup> but not explicitly by the others. It seems probable that Urban aroused even greater enthusiasm than he desired. In his second address to the clergy<sup>15</sup> he stated that he did not desire old men, or those unfitted for war, or women without guardians. Clerks were not to go without the permission of their bishop, nor laymen without the blessing of their priest. These same limitations are brought out later in the letter of Urban to the inhabitants of Bologna.<sup>16</sup> But the pope's eloquence had been too persuasive, the project was too

<sup>1</sup> "Multas occidendo vel captivando," p. 324A.

<sup>2</sup> P. 727D to p. 728B. This may, however, be borrowed from the letter of Alexius.

<sup>3</sup> P. 12A-B. Note especially, "Siqui adhuc ibi latitant Christiani inauditibus exquiruntur tormentis." Cf. note 4, p. 236.

<sup>4</sup> P. 395, l. 12 to l. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See note 13, p. 240.

<sup>6</sup> "Ecclesias subvertendo, regnum Dei vastando," p. 324A.

<sup>7</sup> "Ecclesiasque Dei aut funditus everterit aut suorum ritui sacrorum mancipaverit," p. 727E.

<sup>8</sup> P. 13. Note especially, "Ecclesiae in quibus olim divina celebrata sunt mysteria, pro dolor! ecce animalibus eorum stabula praeparantur."

<sup>9</sup> P. 395, ll. 10-11. But compare all the context for proof that this was in William's mind.

<sup>10</sup> See note 10, p. 240.

<sup>11</sup> "Qua de re supplicii prece hortor, non ego, sed Dominus . . . vos, Christi praecones, . . . Praesentibus dico, absentibus mando, Christus autem imperat," p. 324A-B.

<sup>12</sup> "Nisi Dominus Deus mentibus vestris affuisset, una omnium vestrum vox non fuisset," p. 729D.

<sup>13</sup> William, p. 396, ll. 15-16, "Praesentibus ex Dei nomine praecipio, absentibus mando," is evidently influenced by Fulcher. See note 11, above.

<sup>14</sup> "Ut cunctis cujuslibet ordinis tam equitibus quam peditibus, tam divitibus quam pauperibus . . . suadeatis," p. 324A-B.

<sup>15</sup> Robert, ch. 2, p. 729E.

<sup>16</sup> Riant, *Inventaire*, A. O. L., I. 121; cf. p. 115, note 8.

attractive. Men and women of all classes, even children, started on the crusade. Occasionally some were restrained by the wisdom of their clerical advisers.<sup>1</sup>

*All who went on the crusade were to receive plenary indulgence or full remission of sins.*<sup>2</sup> This is clear from the canon of the Council,<sup>3</sup> from the statement of Pope Eugene III.,<sup>4</sup> and from the letters of Urban to the princes of Flanders<sup>5</sup> and to the people of Bologna.<sup>6</sup> It was reported in various forms by the contemporaries. Fluchier limits it to those who died on the expedition<sup>7</sup>; Robert applies it to all who went.<sup>8</sup> Baldric inserts a rather indefinite statement concerning it in Urban's address to the clergy.<sup>9</sup> Guibert does not mention it in his account of the speech. William applies it to all.<sup>10</sup> It is interesting to compare with these brief statements the very careful exposition of William of Tyre.<sup>11</sup>

*Expressions of contempt for the Turks.* The terms used by Fulcher,<sup>12</sup> Robert,<sup>13</sup> and Baldric<sup>14</sup> are commonplace enough. Guibert mildly calls them *nefandi*. William of Malmesbury,<sup>15</sup> on the other hand, has a long passage describing the cowardice and degeneracy of the Turks. His account accords with the general belief of the times.<sup>16</sup> If Urban used contemptuous expressions it would probably have been so much in agreement with their own ideas that his hearers would have paid little heed to this portion of his address. The crusaders were surprised at the bravery of the Turks when they met the latter in battle.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See *Histoire Générale de Languedoc* (ed. Privat), III. 484.

<sup>2</sup> These terms are used in their technical sense.

<sup>3</sup> "Quicumque, pro sola devotione, non pro honoris vel pecuniae adeptione, ad liberandam ecclesiam Dei Jerusalem profectus fuerit, iter illud pro omni poenitentia reputetur." Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, CLXII. 717.

<sup>4</sup> "Illam peccatorum remissionem, quam prefatus predecessor noster papa Urbanus instituit." Ottonis Fris. *Gesta Fr.*, MGSS., XX. 371.

<sup>5</sup> Riant, *Inventaire*, No. XLIX, *A. O. L.*, I., p. 113 and p. 220. This letter also confirms several of the other points.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, No. LVII.

<sup>7</sup> "Cunctis autem illuc euntibus, si aut gradiendo aut transfretando, sive contra paganos dimicando, vitam morte praepeditam finierint, remissio peccatorum praesens aderit," p. 324B.

<sup>8</sup> "Arripite igitur viam hanc in remissionem peccatorum vestrorum," p. 729B.

<sup>9</sup> P. 15F.

<sup>10</sup> "Ituri . . . omnium absolutionem criminum," p. 396.

<sup>11</sup> *Recueil*, I. 42, ll. 11-16.

<sup>12</sup> "Gens tam spreta, degener, et daemonum ancilla," p. 324C.

<sup>13</sup> "Gens prorsus a Deo aliena," p. 727D; "nefariae genti," p. 728F.

<sup>14</sup> "Turci spurii et immundi," p. 13B.

<sup>15</sup> P. 395, l. 31, to p. 396, l. 5.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, p. 73, and the contemptuous expressions in the *Gesta Francorum*, *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Hagenmeyer, *Gesta Francorum*, IX. 206-208.

*Fight righteous wars instead of the iniquitous combats in which you have been engaged.* Mentioned at some length by all.<sup>1</sup> *Promise of eternal rewards.* Mentioned by all.<sup>2</sup> *Promise of temporal rewards.* Indefinite in Fulcher,<sup>3</sup> but not in Robert<sup>4</sup> or in Baldric.<sup>5</sup> Guibert<sup>6</sup> and William of Malmesbury<sup>7</sup> have no parallel passages, but the same idea of the acquisition of the enemy's country is assumed. *The participants are not to let anything hinder them.* Fulcher barely mentions this.<sup>8</sup> Robert gives a much fuller statement,<sup>9</sup> that they are not to be hindered by ties of affection or care for property. Baldric has a passage of the same import.<sup>10</sup> Guibert has no mention of this, but William dwells upon it.<sup>11</sup> *Time of departure.* Mentioned only by Fulcher.<sup>12</sup> It seems probable that this was not mentioned in the exhortation but was fixed later. The time actually set for the departure was August 15, 1096.<sup>13</sup> *God will be your leader.* Mentioned by Fulcher, "Domino praevio",<sup>14</sup> as the last point in the pope's exhortation. Robert does not have this, but he may have had it in mind when he gave as the concluding sentence of the pope's second address to the clergy, "He that taketh not his cross and followeth after me is not worthy of me." Baldric expressed it, "sub Jesu Christo, duce nostro, acies

<sup>1</sup> Fulcher, "contra infideles ad pugnam . . . dignam . . . qui abusive . . . contra fideles . . . consuescebant distendere," p. 324D. Robert, p. 728F. Baldric, p. 15A-B. Guibert, "Indebita hactenus bella gessistis . . . Nunc vobis bella proponimus quae in se habent gloriosum martyrii munus," etc., p. 138E. William, especially p. 396, ll. 25, 26, "illam fortitudinem, prudentiam illam, quam in civili conflictu habere consuevistis, justiori effundentes, proelio."

<sup>2</sup> Fulcher, "aeterna praemia nanciscantur," p. 324D; Robert, "immarcescibili gloria sequi coelorum," 729B; Baldric, "sanguine vestis purpurati, perenne bravium adipiscimini," p. 15C; Guibert, "gloriosum martyrii munus . . . aeternae laudis titulus," p. 138E. William, "perpetuae salutis statio," p. 394, l. 11; cf. p. 396, l. 22.

<sup>3</sup> "Pro honore duplici laborent, qui ad detrimentum corporis et animae se fatigabant," p. 324D-E.

<sup>4</sup> "Eamque vobis subjicite, terra illa . . . quae lacte et melle fluit," etc., p. 728F. This is contrasted with their poverty at home.

<sup>5</sup> "Facultates etiam inimicorum vestrae erunt: quoniam et illorum thesauros expoliabitis," p. 15C.

<sup>6</sup> But see p. 240, note 17, and corresponding text.

<sup>7</sup> When William urges them not to be detained by their patrimony because more ample ones are promised, the context seems to show that eternal rewards are referred to.

<sup>8</sup> "Ituris autem mora non differat iter, sed propriis locatis, sumptibusque collectis . . . transitem acriter intrent," p. 324E.

<sup>9</sup> P. 728E.

<sup>10</sup> "Non vos demulceant illecebrosa blandimenta mulierum nec rerum vestrarum," p. 15E.

<sup>11</sup> P. 378; ll. 4-10.

<sup>12</sup> "Cessante bruma vernoque sequente," p. 324E.

<sup>13</sup> Riant, *Inventaire*, A. O. L., l. 114, 220.

<sup>14</sup> P. 324E.

christiana", etc.<sup>1</sup> Guibert has "Deo vos praeunte, Deo pro vobis proeliante"<sup>2</sup>; and at the end of the exhortation "Christum fore signiferum . . . et praecursorem individuum." William's phrase is, "aderit Deus cunctibus."<sup>3</sup>

*Praise of the Franks.* Robert begins his version with a reference to the Franks as the chosen people beloved by God. His statement does not carry very great weight because this is a favorite thought of his.<sup>4</sup> While a natural beginning under ordinary circumstances, it may not have seemed appropriate after the references to the evil conduct of the people in the previous address. This may have caused Fulcher<sup>5</sup> and Baldric to omit it even if it was a part of the pope's speech. Guibert has no mention of it in the speech, but uses similar language in a preceding chapter.<sup>6</sup> William refers to the "famosa Francorum virtus."<sup>7</sup>

*Special sanctity of Jerusalem.* Mentioned by Robert,<sup>8</sup> Baldric,<sup>9</sup> and Guibert<sup>10</sup> at great length. The Holy Sepulchre, in particular, and its profanation are cited. *Evil conditions at home.* Mentioned by all but Fulcher.<sup>11</sup> The latter may have omitted it because he had already given the pope's first speech, in which the evil conditions were discussed at length.<sup>12</sup> *Sufferings of the pilgrims.* Mentioned by Baldric<sup>13</sup> and at great length by Guibert.<sup>14</sup> *The task will be easy.* Mentioned slightly by Baldric,<sup>15</sup> and by William.<sup>16</sup> *Necessity of contending against Antichrist.* This is mentioned only by Guibert.<sup>17</sup> His argument is interesting. It may be summarized baldly: The coming of Antichrist is at hand. According to the prophets he will have his dwelling on the Mount of Olives and will destroy the three Christian kings of Egypt, Africa, and Ethiopia. But these countries are now pagan and there are

<sup>1</sup> P. 15A.

<sup>2</sup> P. 138C, 140D.

<sup>3</sup> P. 398, l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> In addition to four places in the exhortation where he mentions this. Cf. prologue and *Historia*, *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> But note p. 324C, "gentem omnipotentes Dei fide praeditam, et Christi nomine fulgidam."

<sup>6</sup> Bk. II., ch. 1.

<sup>7</sup> P. 396, ll. 28-29.

<sup>8</sup> Ch. 2 at the beginning, and p. 728C.

<sup>9</sup> P. 13.

<sup>10</sup> *Passim*. A large portion of his version is devoted to this theme.

<sup>11</sup> Robert, "quoniam terra haec quam inhabitatis . . . numerositate vestra coangustatos . . . et vi sola alimenta suis cultoribus administrat," etc., p. 728E. Baldric, p. 14F; Guibert, p. 138E; William, pp. 393, 394; this passage may be, in part at least, a reminiscence of the pope's first speech.

<sup>12</sup> Cf., however, p. 324D.

<sup>13</sup> "Quantis afflictationibus vos, qui adestis, qui redestis, injuriaverint," etc., p. 14A.

<sup>14</sup> P. 139H to 140C.

<sup>15</sup> "Via brevis est, labor permodicus est," p. 15D.

<sup>16</sup> P. 394, l. 10. Cf. pp. 395, 396 on the ease of defeating the cowardly Turks.

<sup>17</sup> P. 138H to p. 139C.

no Christian kings. Therefore, it is necessary, for the fulfilment of the prophecy, for the Christians to conquer these countries so that there may be Christian kings to be destroyed. Possibly this was Guibert's way of stating the temporal rewards mentioned by the others.

*Reference to Spain.*<sup>1</sup> Mentioned by William, but by no one else. Guibert, however, does give in the preceding chapter, as one of the causes of the pope's preaching the crusade, that he had very often heard of the Saracens' attack upon Spain.<sup>2</sup> *Cross to be worn.* Mentioned by William.<sup>3</sup> Robert mentions this in the second address to the clergy.<sup>4</sup> The others mention it later but not as a part of the pope's speech.

In addition to the subjects already mentioned there is a subtle appeal to the ascetic spirit of the times, in the versions by Baldric, Guibert, and William; and an exhortation to follow the example of the Old Testament heroes, in the versions by Baldric and Guibert. It is probable that both subjects were referred to by Urban, but the vague and divergent references may be merely the work of the reporters. The references are of too slight weight to be used here.

Urban may have mentioned all these subjects, as well as some which have not been reported. Undoubtedly, his exhortation was much longer than any of the brief reports which have been preserved. But, judging from the material in existence, the following conclusions seem justified.

In addition to the points about which there can be no reasonable doubt, rich and poor may have been urged to go. If this was not expressly mentioned, it seems to have been taken for granted by the auditors. The evil conditions at home were probably dwelt upon. The only doubt in this case arises from a possible confusion of the first and second speeches in the various reports. Some mention of this subject would, however, naturally accompany the exhortation to fight just wars in place of unjust. The sufferings of the pilgrims were probably mentioned. There may have been some reference to Spain, as this might have been suggested by the conquests of the Turks. The valor of the Franks may have been praised by the pope. It is a matter of doubt whether Urban used any but commonplace expressions of contempt in describing the

<sup>1</sup> "Jamque a trecentis annis Hispania et Balearibus insulis subjugatis," p. 395.

<sup>2</sup> Rk. II., ch. 1. It was chiefly on these statements by William and Guibert that Riant based his argument that the pope was influenced principally by the danger to Spain. Riant, *Alexii Epistola*, p. xxiv.

<sup>3</sup> P. 306, l. 17.

<sup>4</sup> P. 730A.

Turks or in regard to the easiness of the task. He probably did not refer to the time of departure, to the need of contending against Antichrist,<sup>1</sup> or to the wearing of the cross.

The outline of the pope's speech, therefore, seems to have been as follows<sup>2</sup>: [Praise of the valor of the Franks]; necessity of aiding the brethren in the East; appeals for aid from the East; victorious advance of the Turks; [reference to Spain]; sufferings of the Christians in the East; (sufferings of the pilgrims); desecration of the churches and holy places; [expressions of contempt concerning the Turks]; special sanctity of Jerusalem; this is God's work; (rich and poor to go); grant of plenary indulgence; fight righteous wars instead of iniquitous combats; (evil conditions at home); promise of eternal and temporal rewards; let nothing hinder you; God will be your leader.

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

<sup>1</sup> Antichrist is mentioned in the letter of Alexius. *A priori* it seems probable that the pope would have mentioned Antichrist. On the other hand, if such a mention had been made, it seems probable that more than one of the five versions would have preserved it.

<sup>2</sup> The subjects concerning which there seems to be no doubt are printed without inclosures; those which the pope probably used are in parentheses; those which he may have used are in brackets; the other subjects are, of course, omitted. The order is determined by a comparison of the different versions. It is only hypothetical, and the purpose of this paper would not be affected by a change in order.



## MOLINOS AND THE ITALIAN MYSTICS

THE condemnation of Miguel de Molinos, in 1687, marks a profound change in the attitude of the Church towards Mysticism. It is true that long before, in the classic land of mystic reveries—Spain of the sixteenth century, the Inquisition had clearly seen the dangers of the doctrine which taught that the soul could deal directly with God and which despised the intervention of the priest and the outward observances held by the Church to be essential to salvation. Consequently, in spite of the great mystics, canonized and uncanonized—Santa Teresa, Francisco de Osuna, San Juan de la Cruz, San Pedro de Alcántara, and others who escaped condemnation—it waged unrelenting warfare with the crowd of adepts and performed a service in checking the growth of a tendency which threatened to subordinate religion to hypnotism. In this task it was strengthened by the aberrations of the Illuminati, who claimed that when they reached the desired goal of Union with God, their souls were illuminated with divine light and were abandoned to the divine influence, so that they became impeccable, secure that whatever they did was due to the promptings of God. This abandonment, known to the Spaniards as *Dejamiento* and elsewhere as Quietism, was not likely to lead to evil when practised by Master Eckart, Tauler, Rulman Merswyn, and Henry Suso in the fourteenth century, or by Santa Teresa and St. François de Sales in later times, but, in natures less pure, impeccability was apt to assume the meaning, not that evil was instinctively avoided, but that evil lost its character of sin when wrought under the presumed divine inspiration. The flesh sometimes triumphed over the spirit, even in those who honestly thought themselves to be treading the path of perfection. That spiritual exaltation shared by the two sexes might insensibly become carnal was no new experience, for, in the thirteenth century, the eloquent warning addressed by St. Bonaventura to his brethren shows by the vividness of its details that he must have witnessed more than one such fall from grace.<sup>1</sup> Nor were there lacking impostors who took advantage of these sublimated theories to gratify their brutal instincts with those who were confided to their spiritual guidance, and it was not easy, even

<sup>1</sup>S. Bonaventurae de *Puritate Conscientiae*, cap. 14.

if it were important, to discriminate between the motives leading to such results. This tendency rendered suspicious the mental prayer, the meditation and contemplation, which were the distinguishing exercises of the mystics; it discredited their visions and revelations and served to justify the Spanish Inquisition in its persecution of Mysticism in general.

While Spain was thus active in repression, Rome had remained virtually quiescent. Mysticism had for centuries been recognized as a means to salvation, and its history was too full of names honored by the Church for it to be rashly condemned. There was in Italy no popular mania, as in Spain, to be cured, irrespective of the immoral extravagances to which it sometimes led. In the Edict of Denunciations of the Roman Inquisition, unlike that of the Spanish, there is no mention of Mysticism or Illuminism.<sup>1</sup> The elaborate folios of the systematic writers—Del Bene, Bordono, Lupo, Dandino, Carena—are silent as to its eccentricities. Yet these were by no means unknown to the Holy Office, which took cognizance of them when brought to its notice, and occasionally some book too unreserved in its teachings found a place in the *Index*.<sup>2</sup> Cardinal Scaglia (†1639), in his little manual of practice, which was circulated only in manuscript, when treating of the troubles customary in nunneries, says that, through giddiness of brain, or vainglory, or illusion, nuns often claim to have celestial visions and revelations and intercourse with God and the saints when, if the confessor is imprudently given to spirituality, he reduces their utterances to writing and, if learned, he defends them with propositions very often punishable by the Inquisition. Sometimes, he adds, sensuality is involved, leading to the assertion that carnal acts are not sinful but meritorious when, if the confessor desires to take advantage of this, he seeks with revelations and false doctrines to prove that they are lawful. Cases of this kind have occurred in the Holy Office, when priests who so justify themselves become liable to the penalties of heresy. Such cases also occur between women assuming to be spiritual and their confessors, who so teach them, even without revelations and visions, leading their spiritual daughters to believe these to be works of merit and mortification.<sup>3</sup>

Bernino tells us that, early in the seventeenth century, Illuminism was widely diffused throughout Italy, where abjurations en-

<sup>1</sup> Bordoni *Sacrum Tribunal Judicum*, p. 508 (Romae, 1648). Ign. Lupi Bergomens. *Nova Lux in Edictum S. Inquisit.* (Bergomi, 1648.)

<sup>2</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 610-611.

<sup>3</sup> Scaglia, *Prattica per le Cause del Sant' Officio*, cap. 25 (MS. *penes me*).

forced by the Inquisition were frequent, but this is probably the exaggeration so frequent with heresiologists.<sup>1</sup> A well-marked case, however, startled Florence in 1640, when the Canon Pandolfo Ricasoli, a highly respected member of the noble house of the Barons of Trappola and a man of wide learning and handsome fortune, was arrested, with his chief accomplice Faustina Mainardi, her brother Girolamo, and seven others. Some nuns of Santa Anna sul Prato were also implicated, but if they were prosecuted no knowledge of it was allowed to reach the public. They seem to have formed a coterie of Illuminists to whom Ricasoli taught that all manner of indecent acts conduced to purity, if performed with the mind fixed on God; they claimed special relations with heaven and were free from sin in whatever they did for the greater glory of God. This continued for eight years; rumors spread abroad and were conveyed to the Inquisition, when Ricasoli came forward and denounced himself with expressions of contrition. A public *atto di fede* was held, November 28, 1641, in the great refectory of the convent of Santa Croce, attended by the Grand Duke, the Cardinal de' Medici, the nuncio, and other notabilities. One of the culprits, Serafino de' Servi, had died in prison and appeared in effigy, the rest abjured *de vehementi*—for vehement suspicion of heresy. Ricasoli, Faustina, and the priest Giacomo Fantoni were condemned to perpetual irremissible prison, others to prison with the privilege of asking for pardon, while two, Cocchi and Borseschi, had a private *atto di fede* and were confined in the Stinche prison at the pleasure of the Inquisition. Ricasoli, as he was led away, declared that he had acted foolishly and ignorantly and he asked pardon of the people for the scandal which he had caused; he lingered in his prison until July, 1657, when he died at the age of 78; there was some question as to his interment, but finally he received Christian burial. The inquisitor, Fra Giovanni Muzarelli, was sternly rebuked for misplaced mercy by the Roman Congregation of the Inquisition and was speedily replaced by one of severer temper.<sup>2</sup>

Impostors likewise were not unknown, as appears in the career of Francesco Giuseppe Borri, a brilliant but dissolute scion of a noble Milanese house. A misadventure in Rome forced him to take asylum in a church, where, in recognition of the mercy of

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresie*, IV. 712 (Venezia, 1717).

<sup>2</sup> Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, pp. 1-7. Library of the Seminario della Curia arcivescovile di Firenze, Chiese, Spogli, Vol. I., pp. 407 *et seqq.* [Modesto Rastrelli], *Fatti attinenti all' Inquisizione*, pp. 173-177 (Venezia, 1782). Cf. Cantù, *Eretici d'Italia*, III. 336.

God, he changed his life. He soon had visions and revelations, from which he constructed a new theology, showing an intimate acquaintance with the mysteries of the Trinity and of the universe. He had been selected to found the Kingdom of the Highest, in which all mankind would be brought under papal rule; the philosopher's stone, of which he had the secret, would furnish the means of raising the papal armies, in the leadership of which he would be guided by St. Michael. Rome soon became dangerous for the new prophet, and in 1655 he transferred his propaganda to Milan, where he founded a secret mystical order, the members of which were trained in meditation and mental prayer, pledged themselves to shed their blood in the execution of the work, and, what was more to the purpose, contributed all their property to the common fund. The Milanese inquisitor got wind of the new sect and arrested some of the members; Borri thought of raising a tumult but decided in favor of the safer alternative of flight. His case was transferred to the Roman Congregation, which cited him, March 20, 1659, to appear within ninety days, and then tried him *in absentia* with the result that his effigy, with all his impious writings, was burnt on January 3, 1661. His dupes were duly prosecuted but seem not to have been severely punished.

Meanwhile he was starting on a fresh career in northern Europe, as a man possessed of all the secrets of alchemy and medicine, with a success that even Cagliostro might have envied. Strassburg and Amsterdam had reason to repent of his seductive arts. In Hamburg, Christina of Sweden furnished him with means to prosecute the work of the Grand Arcanum. Frederick III. of Denmark lavished large sums on him and even made him chief political adviser, which aroused the hatred of the heir-apparent, Christian V., on whose accession in 1670 he was obliged to save his life by flight. He sought to find refuge in Turkey, but in Moravia, when within a day's journey of the frontier, he was arrested by mistake, on suspicion of complicity in a conspiracy in Vienna. There the papal nuncio recognized and claimed him, but Leopold I., whose favor he had speedily acquired by his chemical marvels, only surrendered him on condition that his life should be spared. Before the Inquisition he confessed his errors and attributed them to diabolical inspiration, and his sentence, September 25, 1672, was merely to perpetual prison and certain spiritual penances. Even here his good luck befriended him, for Cardinal d'Estrées, the influential ambassador of Louis XIV., in dangerous illness asked to consult him, and, on recovery, procured his transfer to easier confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, where he was allowed

special privileges. There he remained until his death, August 20, 1695—just a century before Cagliostro came to the same end.<sup>1</sup>

Although the Roman Inquisition issued no general denunciations, there was a surveillance kept over the votaries of mental prayer and contemplation, in view of the extravagances to which they might be led when, abandoning themselves wholly to God, they felt themselves irresponsible for what God might cause them to do. There was a little community of this kind formed in Genoa, where they were known as *Sequere me*, from the phrase used when addressing those whom they elected to join them. Under the lead of a Trinitarian friar, they bought a house in the suburbs, where they lived in the utmost austerity, devoting themselves to contemplation. Then came visions and revelations that the Church was to be reformed through them by a new pope, of whom they were to be the apostles. One of them communicated this to a vicar of the Inquisition, who promptly reported to the tribunal. They were all summoned before it; some went into ecstasies, and as a body they threatened the inquisitor with the vengeance of God and were thrown into prison. The Congregation of the Inquisition ordered their prosecution, which resulted in their being adjudged to be crazy rather than evil-minded. The friar was deprived of active and passive voice in his Order, and the rest were dismissed with threats of the galleys if they reassembled and continued to wear the habit which they had adopted.<sup>2</sup>

More persistent was the sect known as the Pelagini which, about 1650, developed itself in the Valcamonica and spread throughout Lombardy. Giacomo Filippo di Santa Pelagia was a layman of Milan, highly esteemed for conspicuous piety. From Marco Morosini, Bishop of Brescia (1645-1654), he obtained permission to found conventicles or oratories in the Valcamonica, but it shows that mental prayer was regarded as a dangerous exercise when Morosini imposed the condition that it should not be practised in these little assemblies. The prohibition was disregarded and the devotees largely gave themselves up to contemplation, with the result that they had trances and revelations; they threw off subjection to their priests and were accused of claiming that mental prayer was essential to salvation, that none but Pelagini could be saved, that those who practised it became impeccable, that laymen

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca del R. Archivio di Stato in Roma, Miscellanea MSS., pp. 577-630. Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, pp. 13-26. *L'Ambasciata di Romolo a' Romani*, p. 689 (Colon., 1676). Collect. Decret. S. Congr. S. Officii, p. 7 (MS. *penes me*). Cantù, *op. cit.*, III. 330.

<sup>2</sup> MSS. of Ambrosian Library of Milan, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 140.

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could preach and hear confessions, that indulgences were worthless, and that God through them would reform the world. In 1654, Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (afterwards Alexander VIII.) obtained the see of Brescia and by accident discovered some colporteurs distributing the Catechism of Calvin, along with tracts of the Pelagiani. In March, 1656, he sent to the Valcamonica three commissioners with verbal instructions and armed with full powers, who temporarily suppressed the oratories and made a number of arrests, but the Inquisition intervened, taking the affair out of his hands and prosecuting the leaders.<sup>1</sup>

We hear nothing more of Filippo, except that he never was condemned. He probably died early in the history of the sect and his memory was cherished as that of a saint with thaumaturgic power. In 1686, the Archpriest of Morbegno, in the Valtellina, was found to be distributing relics of him and collecting materials for his life and miracles, all of which he was obliged to abandon, after obeying a summons from Calchi, the Inquisitor of Como. There were also inquiries made of the Provost of Talamona as to his motives in keeping a picture of Filippo and whether it was prayed to.<sup>2</sup>

After Filippo's disappearance we hear of Francesco Catanei and of the Archpriest Marc Antonio Ricaldini as leaders of the sect, but Agostino Ricaldini, a brother of the latter and a married layman, was really the centre around which it gathered. In Ottoboni's persecution he was imprisoned in 1656, and thrice tortured and, on September 19, 1660, he was sentenced by the Brescia tribunal to exile from the Valcamonica and was relegated to Treviso. Persisting in his errors, he was again tried in Treviso, obliged to abjure *de vehementi*, and sentenced to perpetual prison, while a book which he had written was publicly burnt. How long his imprisonment lasted does not appear, but in 1680 we find him living in Treviso, under surveillance of the episcopal vicar-general.<sup>3</sup>

If Ottoboni and the Inquisition fancied that they had crushed the sect, they were mistaken. It maintained a secret existence for over twenty years, which enabled it to spread far beyond its original seat and, about 1680, it had associations and oratories for mental prayer established in Brescia, Verona, Vicenza, Treviso, Padua, Pesaro, Lucca, and doubtless many other places, while its votaries

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresie*, IV. 722-726. MSS. of Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 14. This latter is a considerable body of documents from which are derived the facts that follow.

<sup>2</sup> Ambrosian MSS. *ubi sup.*, fol. 111, 113, 117, 119, 121, 135, 137, -3<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 58, 61, 66, 80, 83, 86.

expected it to spread through the world. Ricaldini, at Treviso, was busy in corresponding with the heads of the associations and receiving their visits. In Brescia, Bartolommeo Bona, priest of S. Rocco, presided over an oratory of sixty members and was even said to have six hundred souls under his direction. They were called Pellegrini di S. Rocco, they practised mental prayer assiduously, and had even procured an episcopal license for the association. In Verona, Giovanni Battista Bonioli guided a membership of thirty disciples, many of them persons of high consideration. For the most part the devotees seem to have been quiet and pious folk, humbly seeking salvation by the interior way, but there were some who were given to extravagance. Margarita Rossi had visions and revelations, strangely repeating portions of the fantastic theology of Borri and, when written out by a believer, Don Giovanni Antonio, it was not difficult to extract from them a hundred and thirty-four errors, concerning which she was tortured as to intention as well as *in caput alienum*. Two others, Cosimo Dolci and Francesco Nigra, had visions and prophetic insight, for which the latter was sentenced, in 1684, to five years' incarceration.<sup>1</sup>

The sect could not continue spreading indefinitely without discovery. In 1682 the Inquisition suddenly awoke to the necessity of action and it repeated an edict which it had issued in 1656, forbidding all oratories and assemblages for mental prayer. Ricaldini felt his position critical, for he had abjured *de vehementi* and was liable to the stake for relapse. He disappeared from Treviso, and all that the Inquisition could learn was that he was somewhere on the Swiss border. At length, in 1684, his retreat was found to be Chiuro, in the Valtelline; and Antonio Ceccotti, Inquisitor of Brescia, made fruitless attempts to induce the authorities of the Valtelline and the Podestà of Brescia to unite in procuring his extradition, but in March, 1685, Ceccotti had the mortification to learn that he had died on the previous October 6, having received all the sacraments and with the repute of a most pious Christian.<sup>2</sup>

The prominent Pelagini were duly prosecuted, but there seems to have been little vindictiveness felt towards them and little heresy attributable to them. The punishments inflicted were light, for we hear, in 1685, of Bona, one of the leaders, having returned to his district and living in retirement, and of Belleri, another, being in the Valcamonica, where the bishop had appointed him missionary for the whole district. Evidently the disciples must have escaped with a warning. What the ecclesiastical authorities objected to

<sup>1</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 18, 22, 24, 34, 38-45, 49-51, 53, 54, 61, 81, 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibidem*, fol. 44, 54, 66, 81.



was not Mysticism and its long-accepted practices, but organization, more or less secret, under leaders outside of the hierarchy and free from its supervision, when heated brains, under divine inspiration, indulged in dreams of regenerating the Church. It was not until the case of Molinos had called attention to other dangers that there came from Rome strict orders for the suppression of all oratories and of the practice of mental prayer—that rapture of meditation which had been the distinguishing habit of mystics through the ages.<sup>1</sup>

Miguel de Molinos was a Spaniard, born probably about 1630 at Muniesa (Teruel). After obtaining at Coimbra the degree of doctor of theology, he came to Rome in 1665, in connection with a canonization—probably of San Pedro Arbúes, who was beatified in 1668. There he speedily acquired distinction as a confessor and spiritual director. Innocent XI. prized him so highly as to give him apartments in the papal palace; the noblest women placed themselves under his care; his reputation spread throughout Italy and his correspondence became enormous. On the day of his arrest it is said that the postage on the letters delivered that day at his house amounted to twenty-three ducats; he made a small charge to cover expenses and, in the sequestration of his property, there were found four thousand gold crowns derived from this source. The letters seized were reported variously as numbering twelve or twenty thousand, of which two hundred were from Christina of Sweden and two thousand from the Princess Borghese. The mysticism which proved so attractive when set forth by his winning personality had in it—ostensibly at least—nothing that had not long since received the approbation of the Church in the writings of the great Spanish mystics and of St. François de Sales. It is true that Molinos dropped the machinery of ecstasies and visions, which loom so largely in the writings of Santa Teresa, and confined his way of perfection to the Brahmanical ideal of the annihilation of sense and intellect, the mystic silence or death, in which speech and thought and desire are no more and in which God speaks with the soul and teaches it the highest wisdom.<sup>2</sup> This spiritualized hypnotism was in no way original with Molinos, but was the goal which all the mystic saints sought to obtain. To

<sup>1</sup> Ambrosian MSS., *ubi sup.*, fol. 65, 82, 113, 117, 119.

<sup>2</sup> *Guida Spirituale*, Lib. I., n. 128: "Non parlando, non pensando, non desiderando, si giunge al perfetto silenzio mistico, nel quale Iddio parla con l'anima e à lei si comunica e le insegna nel più intimo fondo la più perfetta e alta sapienza." Cf. Osuna, *Abecedario Spiritual*, P. III., Trat. xxi., Cap. 3, fol. 203. Santa Teresa, *Libro de las Revelaciones*. San Juan de la Cruz, *Subida del Monte Carmelo*, II. vii.



reach it he tells us the soul must abandon itself wholly to God; it must make no resistance to the thoughts or impulses which God might send or allow Satan to send; if assailed by intruding or sensual thoughts, they should not be opposed but be quietly condemned and the resultant suffering be offered as a sacrifice to God.<sup>1</sup> This was the Quietism pure and simple which was subsequently condemned so severely, and there is no question that it had its dangers if the senses were allowed to control the spirit, and the adversaries of Molinos made the most of it, but he taught that the soul must overcome temptation through patience and resignation. When souls have acquired control of themselves, he says, if a temptation attacks them they soon overcome it; passions cannot hold out against the divine strength which fills them, even if the violence is continued and is supported by suggestions of the enemy; the soul gains the victory and enjoys the infinite resultant benefit.<sup>2</sup>

All this Molinos was allowed to teach for years in the Holy City with general applause. In 1675, at the height of his popularity, he embodied his doctrine in the *Guida Spirituale*, a little volume which came forth with the emphatic approbation of five distinguished theologians—four of them consultors or censors of the Inquisition and all of them men of high standing in their respective Orders of Franciscans, Trinitarians, Jesuits, Carmelites, and Capuchins. The book had an immediate and wide circulation and was translated into many languages. Even in Spain there was a Madrid edition in 1676, one at Saragossa in 1677, and another at Seville as late as 1685, without exciting animadversion. Yet such a career as that of Molinos could not continue indefinitely without exciting hostility, none the less dangerous because prudently concealed. His immense success was provocative of envy and, if mystic contemplation was largely adopted as the surest path to salvation, what was to be the result on the infinite variety of exterior works to which the Church owed so much of its power and wealth? It was found that in many nunneries in Rome, whose confessors had adopted his views, the inmates had cast aside their rosaries and chaplets and depended wholly on contemplation. It was observed that at mass the mystic devotees did not raise their eyes at the elevation of the Host or gaze on the holy images, but pursued uninterruptedly their mental prayer. Molinos gave further occasion for criticism by a tract on daily communion, in which he asserted that a soul, secure that it was not in mortal sin, could

<sup>1</sup> *Guida*, Lib. I., n. 68-70.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Lib. III., n. 3, 40.

safely partake of the sacrament without previous confession—a doctrine which, however theologically defensible, threatened, if extensively practised, largely to diminish the authority of the priesthood, while encouraging the sinner to settle his account directly with God.

To attack as a heretic a man so universally respected and so firmly entrenched as Molinos might well seem desperate, and it is not surprising that the credit for the work was attributed to the Jesuits as the only body daring and powerful enough. The current story is that, having resolved upon it, they procured Père La Chaise to induce Louis XIV. to order his ambassador, Cardinal d'Estrées, to labor unceasingly for the removal of the scandal caused by the teaching of Molinos. Whether this was so is doubtful, but it is certain that the first attack came from the Jesuits and that d'Estrées, who had professed the warmest admiration for Molinos, became his unrelenting persecutor. The campaign was opened in 1678, when Gottardo Bell' Uomo, S. J., issued at Modena a work on the comparative value of ordinary and of mystic prayer, which was duly denounced to the Inquisition. Molinos had been made to recognize in various ways the coming storm, and he sought to conjure it in a fashion which revealed his conscious weakness. February 16, 1680, he addressed to the Jesuit General Oliva a long exculpatory letter. He had not attacked the Society but had always held it in the highest honor; he had never decried the Spiritual Exercises of Loyola, but had recognized the vast good accomplished by them, though he held that, for those suited to it, contemplation was better than meditation. He had for some years been persecuted and stigmatized as a heretic in writing and preaching by the most distinguished members of the Society, but he rejoiced in this and only prayed God for those who reviled him, nor, in his defense of the *Guida*, had he sought aught but the glory of God and, so far from defending the Begghards and *Illuminati*, he had always condemned them. Evidently the work of the Jesuits in discrediting him had been more active and better organized than the records show, and he thought it wiser to disarm, if possible, rather than to struggle with adversaries so powerful. Oliva's answer of February 28 was by no means reassuring. He complimented Molinos on his Christian spirit in returning good for evil and on the flattering terms bestowed on the Society and its founder. He had never read the books of Molinos and could not speak of them with knowledge but, if they corresponded with his letter, his disciples were doing him great wrong in applying his system of contemplation, of which only the rarest souls were capable, indiscriminately

to nuns and worldly young women. Finally, he could not understand why so distinguished a member of the Society as Padre Bell'Uomo should have been brought before the Congregation of the Index, and he gave infinite thanks to God for defending him before it.

Promptly on the next day, February 29, Molinos replied to this discouraging epistle. At much length he disculpated himself for writings and sayings falsely attributed to him. He held meditation in the highest esteem as an exercise suited to all; the loftiest form of contemplation was a gift of God bestowed on the rare souls fitted for it. He again spoke of the persecution to which he was exposed and, as for Padre Bell'Uomo, whom he did not know, if his doctrine was as sound as represented by Oliva, God would enlighten his ministers to recognize it. Oliva's rejoinder to this, on March 2, would appear to be written in a style of studied obscurity, saying much and meaning little, but one passage reveals a source of Jesuit enmity, in alluding to the number of convents which had passed out of the direction of the Society to practise the new method.<sup>1</sup>

The effort of Molinos to propitiate his enemies had only encouraged them by its confession of weakness. Their next step was a dexterous one. Padre Paolo Segneri was not only the most popular Jesuit preacher in Italy, but his favor with Innocent XI. was almost as great as that of Molinos. He was selected as the next athlete and, in 1680, he issued a little volume—*Concordia tra la Fatica e la Quietè nell' Oratione*, in which he argued that the highest life is that which combines activity with contemplation. He was promptly answered by Pietro Matteo Petrucci, an ardent admirer of Molinos, who was rewarded by Innocent with the see of Jesi. Segneri rejoined in a *Lettera di Riposta al Sig. Ignacio Bartolini*, and the controversy was fairly joined. A more aggressive antagonist was the Minorite Padre Alessandro Reggio, whose *Clavis Aurea qua aperiuntur Errores Michaelis de Molinos* appeared in 1682 and boldly argued that the *Guida* revived the condemned errors of the Begghards, that Quietism destroyed all conceptions of the Trinity, while the practice of prayer without works was destructive of all the pious observances prescribed by the Church, and the teaching that temptation should be endured without resistance was dangerous and contrary to Scripture and to the doctors. Petrucci responded vigorously, while Molinos remained silent. He had, at least, the advantage of official support, for Bell'Uomo's book was forbidden *donec corrigatur*; Segneri's *Lettera* and the

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., v, 27, fol. 231 et seqq.

*Clavis Aurea* were condemned unconditionally, and Segneri's *Concordia*, while it escaped the *Index*, was quietly forbidden and he was instructed to revise it.<sup>1</sup>

The Jesuits, however, were not the only body interested in the downfall of Molinos. There is a curious anonymous tract devoted to explaining what it calls the secret policy of the Quietists, assuming their main object to be the destruction of all the religious Orders and especially of the Dominicans and Franciscans. Apparently taking advantage of the development of the Pelagini about this time, it asserts that the Quietists had organized conventicles and oratories throughout Italy; that they had a common treasury in which 14,000 ducats were found; that they flattered the secular clergy and sought to unite them in opposition to the regulars. In short, Quietism was a deep-laid conspiracy through which Molinos expected to revolutionize the Church and reduce the religious Orders to impotence.<sup>2</sup> The only importance of the tract is as a manifestation of the attitude of the regulars towards Molinos and of the hostility aroused by his success in winning from them, for his disciples, the directorship of souls which was their special province.

The enormous influence of the elements thus combining for his destruction left little doubt of the result. The first open attack was made in June, 1682, when Cardinal Caraccioli, Archbishop of Naples, a pupil of the Jesuits, reported to the pope that he found his diocese deeply infected with this new Quietism, subversive of the received prescriptions of the Church, and he asked instructions for its suppression, nor was he alone in this, for similar appeals came from other Italian bishops. Molinos was too firmly established in the papal favor for this to dislodge him, but the hostile forces gradually gathered strength and, in November, 1684, the Congregation of the Inquisition formally assumed consideration of the matter. At its head was Cardinal Ottoboni, a fanatic whose experience with the Pelagini, when Bishop of Brescia, had sharpened his hatred of Mysticism. The spirit in which he conducted the inquest is revealed in a memorandum in his handwriting of the points to be elaborated in the next day's meeting of the Congregation: that this heresy is the worst of all and if left alone will become inextinguishable; that it is spreading in Spain through the Archbishop of Seville and in France with many books of the most

<sup>1</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 612-614. Of these controversial works I have been able to examine only Segneri's *Lettera* and the *Clavis Aurea*. The chief impression made by these polemics is the elusiveness of these mystic dreams when an attempt is made at rigid definition and differentiation.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., iv, 39, fol. 19 *et seqq.*

dangerous nature; that it destroys the Catholic faith and all the religious Orders; that in Jesi the canons and the cura of the cathedral keep a school for its propagation; that a rich and powerful citizen of Jesi threatens the witnesses and that a vigorous commissioner must be sent there; that the monasteries of Faenza and Ravenna are infected and one in Ferrara has a Quietist confessor; that this pestilence calls for fire and steel.<sup>1</sup> In a court presided over by so bitter a prosecutor, the judgment was foreordained.

For awhile the contending forces seem to have been equally balanced, and eight months were spent in gathering testimony sufficient to justify arrest. At last, on July 3, 1685, at a meeting of the Congregation, Cardinal d'Estrées insisted that no one should leave the chamber until the arrest was ordered and executed. This was agreed to; the sbirri were despatched and Molinos was lodged in the prison of the Inquisition.<sup>2</sup> Yet when, on November 9, the Spanish Holy Office condemned the *Guia Espirituale* as containing propositions savoring of heresy and Illuminism, the Congregation addressed to the pope a vigorous protest against its action on a matter which was still under consideration at headquarters.<sup>3</sup>

The influence of Queen Christina, we are told, was exerted to procure for Molinos better treatment than was usual with prisoners. Of the details of the trial we know little or nothing, for the secret records of that impenetrable tribunal have never seen the light, but, as torture was habitual in the Roman Inquisition, it is not probable that he was spared. As his books had not been condemned, the evidence employed was drawn exclusively from the immense mass of his correspondence and manuscripts which had been seized, the depositions of witnesses, and his own confessions, so that we are unable to judge how far it justified the conclusions set forth in the sentence, though, from the manner in which it discriminates between what he admitted and what he denied, it is but fair to assume that it represents correctly the evidence before the tribunal. The trial was necessarily prolonged. In his defense interrogatories were forwarded to Saragossa and Valencia, in 1687, where his witnesses were duly examined.<sup>4</sup> Two hundred and sixty-three erroneous propositions were extracted by the censors from the mass of matter

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *op. cit.*, IV. 726.

<sup>2</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., vii, 46, fol. 289 *et seqq.* This is an account of the affair by one evidently in position to have accurate knowledge of details.

<sup>3</sup> Archivo Historico Nacional de España, Inquisicion de Valencia, Legajo 1, n. 4, fol. 164. Archivo General de Simancas, Inquisicion, Legajo 1465, fol. 101.

<sup>4</sup> Archivo Historico Nacional de España, Inquisicion de Valencia, Legajo 12, n. 1, fol. 106.

before them, to which he of course was required to answer in detail, and these seem to have been condensed into nineteen for the consideration of the Congregation.<sup>1</sup>

Petrucchi was threatened and his elevation to the cardinalate, September 2, 1686, was ascribed to the desire of Innocent to save him from prosecution. Shortly afterward two of the principal assistants of Molinos, the brothers Leoni of Como, of whom Simone was a priest and Antonio Maria was a tailor, were arrested. Then, on February 9, 1687, followed the arrest of the Count and Countess Vespignani, of Paolo Rocchi, confessor of the Princess Borghese and of seventy others, causing general consternation, not diminished by the subsequent imprisonment of some two hundred more. The Congregation was doing its work thoroughly, and it was even said that, on February 13, it appointed a commission which examined the pope himself. A revolution in the traditional standards of orthodoxy could not be effected without compromising multitudes, and the victors were determined that their victory should be complete. On February 15 Cardinal Cibò, the secretary of the Congregation, addressed to all the bishops of Italy a circular stating that in many places there existed or were forming associations called spiritual conferences, under ignorant directors, who with maxims of exquisite perfection misled them into most pernicious errors, resulting in manifest heresy and abominable immorality. The bishops were therefore ordered to investigate and, if such as-

<sup>1</sup> *Trois Lettres touchant l'État présent d'Italie*, pp. 90-120 (Cologne, 1688). These nineteen errors are here printed with their confutations, but without indication of date or of the authority under which they were prepared. They are also contained, with a different series of confutations, in the mass of papers concerning the Pelagiani, in the Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 28. This also contains (fol. 30) a series of instructions for detecting the Quietist heresy, consisting of a list of forty-three errors. Some of these set forth so concisely the leading tenets ascribed, with tolerable accuracy, to the Quietists that they are worth presenting here:

21. They seek to annihilate the memory, the intellect, and the will; to remember nothing, to understand nothing, and they say that when they have thus emptied themselves they are refilled by God.

22. They say that God operates in their souls without co-operation; that their spirit is identified with God, so that they are purely passive, surrendering their freewill to God, who takes possession of it.

23. Thus such souls are preserved from even venial sins of advertence and, if they commit some inadvertently, these are not imputed.

24. Also some proceed to claim impeccability, because they cannot sin when God operates in them without their participation.

25. If these souls commit sinful acts, they say it is through the violence of the demon, with the permission of God, for their torment and purgation.

28. Examination of conscience to ascertain if there has been consent to such acts is not expedient, for it distracts introversion and disturbs the quiet of the soul.

semblies were found, to abolish them forthwith, taking moreover especial care that this pestilence was not allowed to infect the monasteries.

There could be but one end to the trial. Every possible accusation was brought against Molinos, even to a foolish, self-laudatory speech made to the *shirri* who arrested him, and his admiring certain anagrams made of his name. He seems to have responded with candor to the various articles, denying some and admitting others. Of the articles, the most important were his justifying the sacrilege of breaking images and crucifixes; depreciating religious vows and dissuading persons from entering religious Orders, saying that vows destroyed perfection; that, by the prayer of Quiet, the soul is rendered not only sinless but impeccable, for it is deprived of freedom and God operates it, wishing us sometimes to sin and offend him, and the demon moves the members to indecent acts; that the three ways of the spirit, hitherto described by the doctors, are absurd and that there is but one, the interior way; that he had formed conventicles of men and women and permitted them to perform immoral acts and to eat flesh on fast-days. He admitted excusing the breaking of images; he denied depreciation of solemn vows, but admitted it as respects private ones, and he had only dissuaded from entering religion those whom he knew would create scandal. He denied teaching that in Quietism the soul becomes impeccable, but only that it did not consent to the act of sin; and he said that he knew many persons practising it who lived many years without committing even venial sin. He denied also that Quietism deprived the soul of freewill, but said that, in that perfect union with God, it was God who worked and not the faculties, and when he said that God sometimes wished sin, he meant material sin; that the demon, as God's instrument to mortify the flesh and purify the soul, causes sometimes the hand and other members to perform lascivious acts. He denied condemning the three ways of the spirit, having meant only that the interior way was so much more perfect that the others were negligible by comparison. He denied forming conventicles in which lascivious acts were permitted and he had excluded some persons who would not refrain from them. He admitted eating flesh on prohibited days, but said that this was by license of his physician. He confessed that for many years he had practised the most indecent acts with two women, the details of which need not be repeated; he had not deemed this sinful, but a purification of the soul and that in them he enjoyed a closer union with God; these were merely acts of the senses, in which the higher faculties had no part, as they were united with God. When he was



told that these were propositions heretical, bestial, and scandalous, he replied that he submitted himself in all things to the Holy Office, recognizing that its lights were superior to his own.<sup>1</sup>

A sentence of condemnation was inevitable. It was drawn up, August 20, 1687; on the twenty-eighth an inquisitorial decree was signed, embodying sixty-eight propositions, drawn from the evidence and confessions, which were condemned as heretical, suspect, erroneous, scandalous, blasphemous, offensive to pious ears, subversive of Christian discipline, and seditious; they were not to be taught or practised under pain of deprivation of office and benefice and perpetual disability, and of an anathema reserved to the Holy See. All the writings of Molinos, in whatever language, were forbidden to be printed, possessed, or read; and all copies were, under the same penalties, to be surrendered to the inquisitors or bishops, who were to burn them.<sup>2</sup> This was posted in the usual places on September 3, the day fixed for the *atto di fede* in which Molinos was to appear.

Under a heavy guard he was brought, on the previous evening, from the inquisitorial prison to the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, in which the *atto* was to be celebrated. In the morning, in a room next to the sacristy, he was exhibited to some curious persons of distinction, eliciting from him an expression of indignation, construed as indicating how little he felt of real repentance. This was confirmed by what followed, explicable possibly by Spanish imperturbability, but more probably by the Quietism which led him to regard himself as the passive instrument of God's will, and superbly indifferent to whatever might befall him, so long as his soul was rapt in the joys of the mystic death, which he had taught as the *summum bonum*. Called upon to order a meal, he specified one which in quantity and quality might satisfy the most voracious gourmet, and after partaking of it he lay down to a refreshing siesta, until he was roused to take his place on the platform, where, in spite of his manacles, his bearing was that of a judge and not of a convict.

The vast church was thronged to its farthest corner with all that was noble in Rome, including twenty-three cardinals; and the spa-

<sup>1</sup> Biblioteca Casanatense, MSS., X., vii, 45, fol. 289. I cannot but regard this as a truthful report. It accords with the briefer abstract in the final sentence, which distinguishes between the articles proved by witnesses and denied by Molinos and those which he admitted. Reusch (*Der Index*, II. 617-618) states that the sentence has been printed in the *Analecta Juris Pontificii*, 6, 1653, and in the appendix to Francke's translation of the *Guida Spirituale*, published in 1687. I have a copy from the Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 185, and there is one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Italien, 138, which also contains the 263 articles drawn from his correspondence, with his answers.

<sup>2</sup> D'Argentré, *Collect, Judic. de Novis Erroribus*, III., II., 357-362.



cious piazza in front and all the neighboring streets were crowded. An indulgence of fifteen days and fifteen quarantines had been proclaimed for all in attendance, but in Rome, where plenary indulgences could be had on almost every day in the year by merely visiting churches, this could not account for the eagerness which brushed aside the Swiss guards stationed at the portals, requiring a reinforcement of troops and resulting in considerable bloodshed. As the long sentence was read, with its detail of Molinos's enormities, occupying two hours, it was interrupted with the frequent roar of "Burn him! Burn him!" led by an enthusiastic cardinal and echoed by the mob outside. Through all this, we are told, his effrontery never failed him, which was reckoned as an infallible sign of his persistent perversity. The sentence concluded by declaring him convicted as a dogmatizing heretic, but, as he had professed himself repentant and had implored mercy and pardon, it ordered him to abjure his heresies and to be rigidly imprisoned with the *sau-benito* for life, without hope of release, and to perform certain spiritual exercises. This was duly executed, and he lingered, it was said repentant, until his death, December 28, 1696. The day after the *atto di fede* his disciples performed their abjuration. There was no desire to deal harshly with them, and they were dismissed with trivial penances, except the brothers Leoni. Simone the priest, who had been a popular confessor, was sentenced to ten years' imprisonment; Antonio Maria, the tailor, who had been a travelling missionary and organizer, was incarcerated for life. There was still another victim, the secretary of Molinos, Pedro Peña, arrested May 9, 1687, for defending his master. He was fully convicted of Quietism and, on March 16, 1689, he was condemned to lifelong prison.<sup>1</sup>

There still remained the publication to Christendom of the new position assumed by the Holy See toward Mysticism. The sixty-eight propositions, condemned in the inquisitorial decree of August 28, were printed in the vernacular and placed on sale, but were speedily suppressed. There must still have been opposition in the Sacred College, or on the part of Innocent XI., for the bull *Cœlestis*

<sup>1</sup> The account of the *atto di fede* is derived from the Casanatense MSS., X., vii, 45, and a relation printed by Laemmer, *Meletematum Romanorum Mantissa*, pp. 407 et seqq., who also prints (pp. 412-422) the sentence of Pedro Peña.

The contemporary printed sources of the whole affair are *Trois Lettres touchant l'État présent d'Italie*, Cologne, 1688; *Recueil de diverses pièces concernant le Quêtisme et les Quêtistes*, Amsterdam, 1688; and Bernino, *Historia di tutte l'Heresie*, IV. 711 et seqq. The concise account by Reusch (*Der Index*, II. 611 et seqq.) is written with his accustomed thoroughness and careful use of all accessible sources. John Bigelow's *Molinos the Quietist* (New York, 1882) is a popular narrative which rejects the charges of immorality. See also Hepppe, *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik*, pp. 110 et seqq., 260 et seqq. (Berlin, 1875).

*Pastor* was not drawn up and signed until November 20, and was not finally published to the world until February 19, 1688. This recited the same series of propositions and the condemnation of Molinos and confirmed the decree of August 28. The propositions condemned consisted, for the most part, of the untenable extravagances of Quietism, including impeccability and the sinlessness of acts committed while the soul was absorbed with God, but it was impossible to do this without condemning much that had been taught and practised by the mystic saints, and there were no saving clauses to differentiate lawful from unlawful converse of the soul with its Creator. The Church broke definitely with Mysticism and by implication gave the faithful to understand that salvation was to be sought in the beaten track, through the prescribed observances and under the guidance of the hierarchical organization.<sup>1</sup>

This change of front was emphasized in various ways. Innocent's favor saved Cardinal Petrucci from formal prosecution. To the vexation of the Inquisition, his case was referred to four cardinals, Cibò, Ottoboni, Casanate, and Azzolini; he professed himself ready to retract whatever the pope objected to and, though the Inquisition held an abjuration to be necessary, he was not required to make it; he was relegated to Jesi and then recalled to Rome, where he was kept under surveillance. He could not, moreover, escape the mortification of seeing the books, which had been so warmly approved, condemned by a decree of February 5, 1688. Many other works, which had long passed current as recognized aids to devotion, were similarly treated: those of Benedetto Biscia, Juan Falconi, François Malaval, and of numerous others—even the *Opera della divina Gratia* of the Dominican Tommaso Menghini, himself Inquisitor-general of Ferrara and author of the *Regole del Tribunal del Santo Officio*, which long remained a standard guide in the tribunals. What had been accepted as the highest expression of religious devotion had suddenly become heresy.<sup>2</sup> Apparently it was not until May, 1689, that instructions were sent everywhere to demand the surrender of all books of Molinos and to report any one suspected of Molinism.<sup>3</sup>

Persecution received a fresh impulse when Cardinal Ottoboni, as Alexander VIII., succeeded Innocent XI., October 6, 1689. Ber-nino tells us that he appeared to him an angel in looks and an apostle in utterance when he declared that there was no creature in

<sup>1</sup> Innocentii PP. XI. Bull. *Coelestis Pastor* (Bullar., X. 212).

<sup>2</sup> Reusch, *Der Index*, II. 618. *Index Innoc. XI.*, Append., pp. 7, 28, 45, 47 (Romae, 1702).

<sup>3</sup> MSS. of Ambrosian Library, H, S, VI., 29, fol. 67 et seqq.

the world so devoid of sense as a heretic, for, as he was deprived of faith, so also was he of reason. His first care was to remove from office and throw into irremissible prison every one who was in the slightest degree suspected of Molinism; in this he did not even spare his Apostolic camera, for he arrested an Apostolic Prothonotary, and, although in the Congregation of the Inquisition there were four kinsmen of the prisoner, zeal for the faith preponderated over blood.<sup>1</sup> Fortunately his pontificate lasted for only sixteen months, so that he had but limited opportunity for the gratification of his ardent fanaticism and scandalous nepotism.

In spite of all this, there were still found those who indulged their sensual instincts under cover of exalted spirituality. In 1698 there was in Rome the case of a priest named Pietro Paolo di San Giov. Evangelista who had already been tried by the tribunals of Naples and Spoleto, so that his career must have been prolonged; while references to a Padre Benigno and a Padre Filippo del Rio show that he was not alone. He had ecstasies and a following of devotees; he taught that communion could be taken without preliminary confession and that, when the spirit was united with God, whatever acts the inferior part might commit were not sins. He freely confessed to practices of indescribable obscenity with his female penitents, whom he assured afterward that they were as pure as the Blessed Virgin. He was sentenced to perpetual prison without hope of release and to a series of arduous spiritual penances, while Fra Benigno escaped with seven years of imprisonment.<sup>2</sup>

Another development of the same tendencies—probably a survival of the Pelagini—was discovered in Brescia in 1708. The sectaries called themselves disciples of St. Augustin, engaged in vindicating his opinions on predestination and grace, but they were popularly known as Beccarellisti, from two brothers, priests of the name of Beccarelli, whom they regarded as their leaders. For twenty-five years—that is, since the ostensible suppression of the Pelagini—the sect had been secretly spreading itself throughout Lombardy, where it was said to number some forty-two thousand members, including many nobles and wealthy families and ecclesiastics of position. They had a common treasury and a regular organization, headed by the elder Beccarelli as pope, with cardinals, apostles, and other dignitaries. The immediate object of the movement we are told was to break the power of the religious Orders and to restore to the secular priesthood the functions of confession and

<sup>1</sup> Bernino, *op. cit.*, IV. 727-728.

<sup>2</sup> Royal Library of Munich, Cod. Ital. 209, fol. 67 *e'* seqq. Cf. Phelippeaux, *Relation du Quétisme*, II. 117, 154.

the direction of souls which it had well-nigh lost, but there was taught the Quietist doctrine of divine grace to which the devotee surrendered all his faculties. This was allowed to operate without resistance, and Beccarelli held that Molinos was the only true teacher of Christian perfection; but we may safely reject as exaggeration the statement that carnal indulgence was regarded as earning a plenary indulgence, applicable to souls in purgatory. Cardinal Badoaro, then Bishop of Brescia, took every means to stamp out this recrudescence of the condemned doctrines; the leaders scattered to Switzerland, Germany, and England; while Beccarelli was tried by the Inquisition at Venice and was condemned to seven years of galley-service.<sup>1</sup>

Probably the latest victims who paid with their lives for their belief in the efficacy of mental prayer and mystic death were a Beguine named Geltruda and a friar named Romualdo, who were burned in a Palermitan *atto di fede*, April 6, 1724, as impenitent Molinists, after languishing in jail since 1699.<sup>2</sup>

HENRY CHARLES LEA.

<sup>1</sup> Laemmer, *op. cit.*, p. 427. Heppe, *Geschichte der quietistischen Mystik*, p. 445.

<sup>2</sup> Mongitore, *L'Atto pubblico di Fede celebrato a 6 Aprile, 1724* (Palermo, 1724).

## MUNICIPAL POLITICS IN PARIS IN 1789

THE municipal revolution in Paris in July, 1789, spared none of the ancient institutions of local government. An electoral assembly had been adapted hastily to the task of governing the city.<sup>1</sup> It had been assisted, and in some instances controlled, by assemblies of voters meeting in their districts. The irregularity of such a government became more and more apparent as the first excitement subsided. To the Parisians, however, this irregularity consisted not so much in the displacement of the legal authorities as in its contradiction of the new doctrine of popular sovereignty. Since the electors possessed no mandate to govern the city, the more eager district leaders demanded the election of another assembly to assume this work provisionally and to prepare a municipal constitution. Two officers—the mayor, Bailly, and the commander of the National Guard, Lafayette—had been chosen in one of the tumultuous gatherings of July and were now confirmed by the districts. This provisional government could render important services to the country, for upon the re-establishment of order in Paris depended the fate of the Revolution at the outset. Whether the Parisians possessed the right or had the capacity to reorganize their own municipal institutions was another question. For several months the field was clear. Not until the latter part of November did the National Assembly announce an intention of providing a municipal law for Paris. Even after that time the constitutional committee of the Assembly worked in sympathy with the committee of the Paris assembly, and the law which was enacted in May, 1790, was to some extent the joint work of the two. As the law did not go into effect until October, the provisional government which the Parisians had organized was long in control. They were engaged upon this task from the time when the electoral assembly was dismissed until the middle of November. The interest of the period centres in the manner in which they did the work and in their constitutional ideas. Furthermore, during this period was fashioned a remarkably effective instrument of revolutionary action, the use of the districts as a basis of agitation. In 1789 it was employed against the communal

<sup>1</sup> See the article in the REVIEW for January, 1905 (X. 280-308), entitled "Improvising a Government in Paris in July, 1789," by Henry E. Bourne.

assembly; later it was turned against the king and even against the national legislature.

# I.

The new assembly met July 25 and superseded the electors five days later. Early in August, to provide members for service on the committees, sixty more deputies were chosen, raising the total number to one hundred and eighty. Nearly half had served in the assembly of electors. In the committees, which were now reconstituted,<sup>1</sup> still other electors were retained on account of their experience. Although the assembly had been called together by Mayor Bailly to prepare a plan of government for Paris, it became, by virtue of the powers given to the deputies in their credentials and by the force of circumstances, primarily an administrative body. Bailly had little faith in salvation by speechmaking, and he thought that nearly all the work could be done in committees. Whether the assembly was authorized to legislate for the city was later a bitterly disputed question. Its claim to a representative character was made at once in the formal style adopted—Assembly of the Representatives of the Commune of Paris.

Bailly had called the assembly into being, but from the beginning it ceased to remember its creator. As an administrative body it should, so thought the Mayor, advise with him and with Lafayette, but, he bitterly recalled, it "accustomed itself readily and at once to administer alone, to forget him completely, and to act as if he had asked its formation in order to lay down his office". For example, he was not informed of the plan of military organization until public discussion in the districts brought it to his attention. If there was anything the deputies were expected to do in accordance with the letter of summons, it was to consult with him about a plan of municipal government; but their committee ignored him, and when he wished to learn the main features of the scheme, he was obliged to make inquiries. An incident, small in itself, revealed clearly the assembly's attitude. Bailly was in constant attendance at the com-

<sup>1</sup> The names of the committees were as follows: The *comité permanent* or *provisoire* of the electors had been divided into four sections or bureaux: 1, Distribution (of business); 2, Police; 3, Subsistence; 4, Military Affairs. The name *comité provisoire* was dropped August 2 apropos of a complaint against this committee because of its decree making printers responsible for anonymous publications, and the name *bureau* was substituted. Later in August four other committees were added: *comité d'administration des revenus et charges de la Ville*; *comité de rédaction*; *bureau de la répartition et de la perception des impôts*; *bureau des secours*. The *bureau des secours* was withdrawn September 10 because the treasury was empty, and all demands were referred to the *comité d'administration des revenus*. Lacriox, *Actes de la Commune de Paris*, I. 81, 333 note 1, 345, 535.

mittee of subsistence, for upon its efforts depended the food supply of Paris and, for this reason, the peace of the city. He informed the assembly that he could not always preside and asked that two vice-presidents be appointed to take his place. This was done, but the men who were chosen forgot the prefix when they signed the records and soon transformed themselves into his rivals.<sup>1</sup> Their names, not his, appeared at the bottom of acts. To such a degree was the practice carried that it excited protests from some of the districts. One of these sent a delegation to the assembly expressing in vigorous terms its disapproval. Its speaker told the members of the assembly that the commune had named Bailly "its mayor, that is, its chief, consequently the chief of this assembly." "Your districts", he added, "have deputed you to become his co-operators in the great work of municipal organization and not to exclude him from it."<sup>2</sup> Bailly was partly responsible for these rebuffs. His functions as mayor had never been precisely described, and in a measure it belonged to him to define their limits. Unhappily for the influence of his office, in cases where the exercise of authority was dangerous he often contrived to throw the necessity of decision upon the assembly and in this way increased its power to the detriment of his own.<sup>3</sup>

Such conflicts of authority are not surprising considering the utter ruin of the older institutions of local government and the distrust commonly born of revolutionary excitement. Moreover, government was something like a novel and dangerous toy, and these children in politics jostled one another in their eagerness to try their hand at it. The times were indeed difficult. Not a day passed but a new question was forced upon the attention of the deputies.

<sup>1</sup> Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 147, 195-197, 243-244; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 24, 27, 28 note 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Procès-verbal du transport du Comité civil, de police, . . . des Enfants Rouges* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), August 6. On August 12 the Prémontrés sent in a similar protest, declaring "qu'il ne peut concevoir comment Monsieur Bailli, élu Maire, c'est-à-dire, Chef de la Commune, ne paraît cependant pas l'être de l'assemblée des représentants de cette Commune, puisque tous les actes qui émanent de cette Assemblée portent les noms de différents Présidents lorsque lui seul a été porté à cette place éminente, par le vœu unanime et le suffrage universel de ces Concitoyens." *District des Prémontrés*, 11 août, 1789 (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. Lacroix, I. 179.

<sup>3</sup> For example, August 20, when a deputation of actors from the Théâtre-français came to ask permission to give Chénier's *Charles IX.*, he would have refused had he dared to do so, for he thought such a play might compromise the good feeling toward the monarchy. He adds, "Je pris mon parti de renvoyer la décision à l'assemblée. Les assemblées ont cela de commode, leur responsabilité est si partagée, qu'elle est nulle." *Mémoires*, II. 287. It was equally characteristic of the man that, although he had retained the secretary of Flesselles, he dismissed him as soon as the Palais Royal began to murmur. *Ibid.*, 198-199.

Often an immediate answer seemed necessary under penalty of an uprising. Early in its career the assembly saw the Hôtel de Ville invaded, as under its predecessors, by a mob crying for blood, this time of one of the highest officers of the new government, the Marquis de la Salle, who had so patriotically effaced himself when Lafayette was named commander of the National Guard. The stock of powder at the arsenal had been depleted and the storeroom was partly filled by a quantity of powder useless for Paris but valuable in the trade with the coast of Guinea. The managers of the arsenal decided to send this powder to Essonnes, where was one of the principal powder factories, and to bring back a new supply for Paris. Lafayette was not at hand, and La Salle signed the order. Rumors spread through the city that it was simply another attempt to render Paris defenseless, and the crowd rushed to the Hôtel de Ville, demanding a victim. Fortunately, La Salle could not be found and the mob was finally dispersed by the National Guard.

The efforts of the assembly to preserve order were compromised by the increasing number of deserters from the royal army who hurried to Paris, hearing of the good fortune of the *gardes françaises*, the heroes of the July insurrection and the pets of the districts. These deserters not only swelled the size of each mob, but also quarreled with one another, threatening to turn the city streets into a battle-field. The only remedy was to order the soldiers at the city gates to turn back all deserters and to request the minister of war and the towns to arrest them on the roads leading to Paris.<sup>1</sup> An equally serious danger was the multitude of destitute men gathered at the government works on Montmartre. These had been established in the spring to relieve distress caused by the exceptional severity of the past winter. The trouble had been rendered more acute by the paralysis of industry and trade since July, so that by the second week of August this army of unemployed numbered between thirteen and twenty-one thousand. Necker threw the responsibility for its control upon the city, because the royal government was without force.<sup>2</sup> These dangers were increased by the constant menace of famine. Although the crops had been abundant, the farmers held back the grain for fear of being plundered on the

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, *Actes*, I, 217, 223-224, 245, 273-274; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VI., p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> These works were finally closed August 23. The provincials were sent home, while Parisians were promised employment in the municipal works. Later in the fall many of the provincials were back in Paris. Lacroix, I. 168, 177, 192-193, 260-261; *Patriote français*, no. XX.; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 257; Godard, *Exposé des Travaux*, 20.



road or at the markets. Sometimes agents despatched to other towns to buy for the city were arrested as suspected monopolists. Early in August Paris was obliged to send a force of four hundred men to Provins to secure the release of two such agents.<sup>1</sup>

Occasionally it was legislation of the National Assembly which multiplied the difficulties of the Commune. As soon as the decrees of August 4 abolishing feudal privileges were known, there was a general massacre of game in the neighborhood of Paris. The preserves at Vincennes, belonging to the Duke of Orleans, still a popular leader, were alone respected. Even the guards at the city gates deserted their posts to join in the sport, until the assembly sent special detachments of soldiers to stop this disorder.<sup>2</sup> The discussions of the question of granting the king a veto also caused trouble. The agitators at the Palais Royal attempted to organize a march upon Versailles, which, but for the promptitude and energy of the Commune, might have forestalled the events of October 5 and 6.<sup>3</sup> Under the circumstances, it is not surprising if the deputies repeatedly deferred the specific task which they had been asked to perform and if they did not altogether succeed in pleasing either the mayor who had called them or the districts that had sent them.

## II.

The government of the city remained provisional, resting for its authority upon the consent of the Parisians, and treated with deference by the National Assembly and by the whole country because of the triumphant part it had taken in the events of July. The royal government was not strong enough to dispute the powers of the victorious city, and the National Assembly was too busy during the summer to undertake the problem of municipal reorganization. From time to time and for specific purposes Paris received from Assembly or king grants of power. Early in August, when disorder had become general throughout the kingdom, the Assembly declared it to be the duty of the municipalities as well as of the National Guard to oppose attacks upon property and particularly upon convoys of grain. A few days later, after the Assembly had, by its decrees abolishing feudalism together with inequalities in taxation and many special privileges, promised to remove the most serious grievances, it was ready to use force to suppress disorder. This force it dared not intrust to the royal government. Accord-

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 91-92, 94.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 148, 258; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. V., p. 17.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, no. VIII., pp. 7 *et seqq.*; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 423-425, 435-437; Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2671, fols. 10, 11.

ingly, the municipalities were authorized to use their own militia or to call upon the royal troops. For the quelling of riot the sword was definitely taken from the hands of the king by the provision that the officers of the army should swear never to employ their soldiers except on a requisition from the civil authorities.<sup>1</sup>

The powers which Paris obtained over the means of securing a supply of food were, at least in spirit, contrary to the policy of the National Assembly, which, August 29, freed the grain-trade throughout the interior of the country from all the obstacles created by a paternal and arbitrary government. According to a project drawn up a few days later by the communal assembly, the Paris buyers were to have the preference at all grain-markets within twenty-five leagues, after the local needs had been supplied. The farmers were to carry every week a certain portion of their crop to these markets. To insure the success of the plan the municipality asked for the powers which had belonged to the lieutenant-general of police and to the royal commissioners. The National Assembly was evidently unwilling to revive one of the features of the old régime and referred the deputation of Paris to the king, who granted the request by a decree in council, September 7, although he provided that these powers should be valid only for the remainder of the year.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée nationale* for August 5 and 10; Duvergier, *Lois*, I. 36-37. The oath read, "Nous jurons de rester fidèles à la nation, au roi, et à la loi, et de jamais employer ceux qui seront à nos ordres contre les citoyens, si nous n'en sommes requis par les officiers civils ou les officiers municipaux."

<sup>2</sup> The first form of the request, decided upon September 2, appears in the *procès-verbal* for that day, Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 454-455. The subject came up again September 4, *ibid.*, I. 473-474. On September 6 the assembly, after finding out that the National Assembly was disposed to do nothing further, referred the matter to the committee of subsistence, "pour être ensuite statué ce qu'il appartiendrait". The decree of the council is merely an approval of the request put in its final form, apparently by the committee of subsistence, for it does not appear in the *procès-verbal*. It is given, however, as from the *procès-verbal* in the *Mercure de France* of September 19. The original is preserved at the Arch. Nat., R. A. D. XI. 68. The assembly made prompt use of its powers, appointing twelve commissioners to compel the farmers to thresh their wheat and market the part provided for in the decree. Lacroix, I. 536-538; *Révolutions de Paris*, September 17. Loustalot regarded the scheme as vicious, and notes that the king in his decree had seemed more solicitous than the Paris authorities for the rights of other municipalities. He also notes the anomaly that the assembly had put below the decree "ordonne l'exécution". No. IX. 32-33. Bailly asked the communal assembly at this time to authorize him to solicit letters patent which should attribute to him the judicial powers formerly possessed by the lieutenant-general of police. The assembly was then on bad terms with the mayor and refused. Before this, late in August, he and four assessors were given the powers which had belonged to the Hôtel de Ville in its jurisdiction over merchants trading by the Seine and over offenses committed on the river or its bridges. Lacroix, I. 225-226, 232, 318-319; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 271.

## III.

The communal assembly had been brought together primarily to prepare a plan of municipal government. Its efforts are interesting especially because of the fundamental assumption upon which they rested. The uprising of Paris in July had compromised the authority of the old monarchy. Similar movements in other cities had created so many centres of resistance that the unity of the kingdom was temporarily destroyed. At the same time the French people, or rather the bourgeoisie, working with a common enthusiasm for a new order of things, were becoming more united and were gaining a spirit really national. From their successful resistance as well as from the actual exercise of power it was only a short step to the attitude that each town had a right to organize itself and that within the limits of its local affairs its authority was supreme. This tendency toward local autonomy—what in 1793 would have been called "federalism"—lost its original character as soon as it became clear that power had passed from the hands of the king into those of the National Assembly. Indeed the movement was transformed into a successful effort to federate, in spirit at least, these local centres of revolutionary activity, in order to strengthen the National Assembly against the forces of reaction. In the fall, the assertion of local authority against the Assembly was denounced as little short of treason.<sup>1</sup> Consequently the agitation over questions of municipal organization resulted in nothing more than administrations which were to continue until the National Assembly had provided by law the machinery of local government.

The question of the right of Paris or any other town to organize itself came up during the controversy over the efforts of the electors to give themselves successors. When Mirabeau proposed a delegation from the National Assembly to the districts of Paris to aid them in constituting an administrative committee, he also suggested that this committee should prepare a municipal constitution. Thereupon Mounier asked him if he meant to authorize all the towns to municipalize themselves after their own fashion. This task, added Mounier, belonged to the National Assembly; to abandon it to the towns would be to create states within the state and to multiply sovereignties. Such a danger did not alarm Mirabeau, and in his reply he cited the example of the United States, which left to the members of the Union the details of their government, provided these were not in contravention to the republican form; and argued that similarly the towns of France could provide the local organiza-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the case of Mounier and the Estates of Dauphiny: see also decree of October 26, Duvergier, I. 54.

tion suited to their needs, making it consistent with the general principles of the new order already laid down, that is to say, national representation, union of the three orders, freedom of election, and the like. Although Mirabeau's original notion was not adopted, the new plan of municipal government was based on the same fundamental idea.<sup>1</sup>

The author of the plan was Brissot, who was a federalist in 1789, even if he was not in 1793 in the sense of the word used by his enemies.<sup>2</sup> Although the commission which had been appointed to present the plan departed in some notable details from his suggestions, their recommendations were in the main his work.<sup>3</sup> He was convinced of the right of a community to regulate its local affairs without the intervention of the national authority. In the preamble, written for the plan but not published with it, he declared that the inhabitants of any city, a term which he uses in the classical sense, "have the right . . . to establish an administration and a police for everything common to them as such." After defining the sphere of action of the cities in their union as provinces, and of the provinces as parts of the kingdom, he says that the two local administrations must be conformed in their principles to the national constitution, and that this conformity must be expressed in a sanction or charter of incorporation given by the national legislature, which is the *federal* bond uniting all parts of a vast empire. Paris, he added, was so large that it must be considered both as a city and as a province.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Procès-verbal de l'Assemblée Nationale*, July 23; "Dix-Neuvième Lettre du Comte de Mirabeau à ses commettans," *Courrier de Provence*, pp. 51 et seqq. Cf. Brissot, *Patriote français*, no. IX.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be noted that the term "federal" in French Revolutionary history means almost the converse of "federal" in American history. It was used to imply a scheme to destroy the unity of the kingdom, later the "unity and indivisibility of the republic". Brissot's original federalism was not tinged with distrust of the central authority. He wished out of locally organized powers to create new channels for the exercise of executive authority, since the old channels were broken, "the intendants have disappeared, the tribunals are dumb, the soldiers are against the executive power and for the people". See "Avis au Peuple Français," in *Patriote français*, no. XIV. 4.

<sup>3</sup> This is shown by a comparison of the final plan with Brissot's project, which was published November 15 when it became clear that the National Assembly was to provide a municipal law for Paris. The title was *Observations sur le plan de la Municipalité de Paris; suivies du Plan original et d'une déclaration des Droits des Municipalités*. See further, *Patriote français*, nos. XV. 4, XVI. 3, and Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 200-201. The *Courrier de Provence* attributed some influence to Sieyès, Castellane, and Montmorency, no. XXII. 8.

<sup>4</sup> *Patriote français*, nos. XVI., XVII. Brissot had already set forth the same theory in a speech made in his district assembly July 21. *Discours*, etc. (Bibl. Nat., pièce). In his no. XXIII. he hints that his scheme was criticized as making a republic of Paris and defends the theory from such charges. Cf. Bailly, *Mémoires*,

Whether the commission altogether approved of Brissot's federalism or not, it did not decrease the powers he ascribed to Paris; on the contrary it added to them. In agreement with him Paris was to assess and collect all taxes, and even to supervise the Bank of Discount<sup>1</sup> and the postal service. But while he, consistent with his general theory, assigned to the local government no jurisdiction beyond the city and the faubourgs, the commission recommended that it assume the powers of the ancient *bureau de la ville* and of the lieutenant-general of police, particularly in the matter of food supply. The assembly virtually acted on this recommendation when it applied to the government for the powers granted by the decree of September 7.

One of the significant features of the plan was the attempt to put an end to the constant meetings of the district assemblies. They were henceforward to be convened only for elections. Brissot argued that this provision was prompted by anxiety to save the time of the citizens. As a member of a district assembly he had in July claimed for it almost as much legislative and executive authority within its sphere as for the towns within their jurisdiction. After his election to the communal assembly his attitude changed, until a few months later he declared, "Since the districts have taken it into their heads to meet constantly, many of them have disputed the powers of their representatives at the commune, opposed decrees of the National Assembly, and even judged the judges."<sup>2</sup> The National Assembly agreed substantially with this feeling, although it took care not to express it so emphatically, for the municipal law given to Paris in 1790 provided that after the elections had been completed the district assemblies should be dissolved. The commission's plan struck two other blows at district aspirations after supremacy. It declared that each "representative" belonged to the commune as a whole and could not be revoked by the district assemblies. Furthermore the provision that the president of each district should be selected from its group of deputies gave the municipal assembly a direct hold on the districts.

The machinery of government provided for in the plan was in part actually set in motion in October and November and remained until the system voted by the National Assembly was substituted for

II. 258-260. When in November the National Assembly announced the intention of providing a special municipal law for Paris, Brissot insisted on the correctness of his theory though he waived its practice in view of the imperative need of harmony. See no. CXVIII. The *Révolutions de Paris* persisted in the original attitude; see no. XXI.

<sup>1</sup> The Bank of Discount had become a quasi-government institution.

<sup>2</sup> *Patriote français*, no. CCIX.

it a year later. Moreover, several of its features were preserved in this system. There was to be a general assembly of three hundred members, sixty of whom were to constitute a council of administration, and of these sixty the principal officers—mayor, commandant-general, eight aldermen, solicitor, his two assistants, and eight heads of departments—formed the *bureau de la ville*.<sup>1</sup> The mayor was merely the presiding officer of all assemblies and all departments of the municipality. The final decision in administrative matters was to belong to the presidents of the departments, soon to be called lieutenants of the mayor. The assembly was to elect the members of the council and to choose those administrators who, with the mayor and commandant-general, were to form the *bureau*. Its other powers were left vague. Nor were the functions of the council stated more clearly. The commission was apparently concerned rather with elections and terms of office than with the business of the council when once constituted, merely implying that it was to submit to the assembly matters which the *bureau* had prepared. The administration of the different quarters of the city was entrusted to district committees, granted powers of arrest, though without the right to try cases.<sup>2</sup>

#### IV.

The plan of municipal government was submitted to the assembly August 12. The commission had done its work with reasonable promptness. If the assembly pushed forward the discussion with equal zeal, the object which Mayor Bailly had in view, namely the immediate organization of an effective administration, could be accomplished. But the assembly, distracted by its many tasks, did practically nothing. As the end of the month approached Bailly became restless. He noted signs of discontent also in the districts. His irritation was increased by the manner in which the assembly ignored him. None of its acts disturbed him as much as its repeated criticism of the committee of subsistence with which he constantly worked. He attributed these attacks partly to the presence on the committee of several electors who had never been formally super-

<sup>1</sup> The eight departments were: subsistence, police, public buildings, public works, hospitals, domain or finances, taxes, National Guard. There was a ninth, the *Tribunal contentieux*, a species of administrative court composed of the eight aldermen and presided over by the mayor.

<sup>2</sup> The full title of the plan was *Projet du plan de Municipalité de la Ville de Paris, présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune par ses commissaires* (Bibl. Nat. Lb<sup>no</sup> 1185, octavo, 52 pp.); see also *Motifs des commissaires, pour adopter le Plan de Municipalité, qu'ils ont présenté à l'Assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 185, and note 5, pp. 195-198.

seded. Impelled by these considerations,<sup>1</sup> he resolved to force an immediate organization of the administration and to restrict the assembly to the task of discussing the plan of government.<sup>2</sup> In attempting to carry out his scheme Bailly addressed himself directly to the districts. He proposed that the *bureau* described in the plan be chosen by an electoral assembly convened for this purpose. The whole operation would, he thought, be completed in eight days.<sup>3</sup>

From his proposals it is clear that Bailly was determined to recover a position at the head of affairs. "The mayor", he said, "is the chief of the municipal administration; he is its active principle." He complained that the new plan did not give the mayor the influence that should belong to him and declared that assemblies could not administer. Although Bailly made a passing allusion to the continuance of the assembly at the Hôtel de Ville, in order that it might prepare its observations on the plan, his letter seemed to lead toward suppressing it altogether.<sup>4</sup> The significance of the blow was heightened because it was prepared secretly. None but his favorite committee of subsistence was consulted. In order to strengthen his position Bailly sought support in the districts by conceding to them full local legislative power.

Bailly did not intend to call into existence another assembly. His meaning was sufficiently clear, but he had reckoned without

<sup>1</sup> For illustrations of Bailly's troubles with the assembly, see his *Mémoires*, II. 196-197, 263, 269, 270, 280-281, 348-351; Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 465, 469-470, 480, 488; Godard, *Exposé*, 50; on presence of electors, see Lacroix, I. 307-308; also the journal *Versailles et Paris* of August 22; *Extrait de Registres . . . de St. Nicholas-du-Chardonnet*, du 7 sept. (Bibl. Nat., pièce), and record of assembly of Saint-Roch for September 4 (Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2665, fol. 31). A new committee of subsistence was formed September 8. See Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 363; Lacroix, I. 451, 455, 510, 512; *Journal de Paris* of September 21; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. IV. 18, 38, no. VI. 32, no. VII. 3. Jefferson, who was still in Paris, had not much opinion of the work of this committee. In a letter to Madison, August 28, he writes of "the palpable impotence of the city administration to furnish bread to the city". *Works* (Ford's ed.), V. 107.

<sup>2</sup> A few days before Bailly acted in this matter, a pamphlet was published by a scientist, Ramond de Carbonnières, criticizing the plan of government and proposing one by which the mayor could not be reduced to the inactivity of a doge and by which legislative power should be left definitely to the districts. The fundamental ideas of the pamphlet and of Bailly's subsequent letter to the districts are so similar that it is difficult to resist the inference that Bailly was influenced by these suggestions. The title of the pamphlet was *A mes concitoyens*, Paris 26 Août, 1789 (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>3</sup> Bailly's letter is given in Lacroix, *Actes*, I. 392-395.

<sup>4</sup> Lacroix says (I. 408), "On peut lire et relire sa lettre, on n'y trouvera pas un mot qui ne laisse supposer que les cent quatre-vingts sont condamnés à disparaître dès que la nouvelle délégation des districts sera formée." But Bailly expressly says in reference to the plan, "Mais l'assemblée générale des Représentants de la Commune doit y faire d'abord ses observations."



taking account of the probable action of the existing assembly. This body learned of the letter the day on which it was despatched, and the astonishment and indignation of the deputies were boundless. The mayor was sent for and was obliged to defend himself against their angry complaints. In order to snatch victory from the midst of defeat they assumed that it was necessary to adopt Bailly's suggestion but not his method of carrying it into effect; for this, they urged, would thwart his real intentions. Accordingly the districts were asked to accept those parts of the plan which concerned the organization of the general assembly, the council, the *bureau*, and the districts themselves. After the assembly had chosen the council the two hundred and forty members remaining were to occupy themselves with the examination of the plan of government, modify it according to the observations of the districts, and finally submit it to these for sanction. The citizens were plainly warned against the mayor's original scheme, and an apology was offered for the assembly's delays which reflected upon him and upon his committee of subsistence. The record showed that this was done in the "presence of the mayor and in agreement with him," and he was required to affix his signature. He did this, he afterward explained, to avoid scandal.<sup>1</sup>

The proposition of the assembly placed the more ambitious districts in a predicament. The titles of the plan which they were asked to accept contained the three limitations on their powers which have already been explained. There was no method, short of total rejection, by which they could give a qualified consent to the project and be sure that their conditions would be respected. Some of them preferred the mayor's plan, but the majority supported the assembly. Out of its one hundred and eighty members one hundred and fifteen were returned to sit in the new assembly. This did not mean that the districts would abide by features of the project to which they objected seriously. Nearly half ventured to take from the assembly its principal electoral duty by each designating one of their five deputies as a member of the council. The district assemblies also continued to meet as before, and in several instances they succeeded in revoking deputies by bringing a pressure upon them which the communal assembly was powerless to prevent.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, I. 396-399; *Chronique de Paris*, I. 39; *Patriote français*, no. XXXI. This was the first time Bailly had been asked to sign the record since July 30.

<sup>2</sup> Several districts gave conditional adhesions, notably the Récollets, *Extrait du Registre . . . du premier Septembre, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); Bancal des Issarts urged in the district of the Carmes that the president of the district was disqualified from being also a deputy, *Arrêtés* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); see for action of Saint-Roch Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2665, fol. 36. The practical



## V.

If Bailly's municipal *coup d'état* be judged by the time the new assembly took to organize the provisional administration, it was a failure. The assembly met September 19, but it was the middle of November before the government was in working order. This was partly due to the controversy with the districts over the method of choosing councilors.<sup>1</sup> After some resistance the assembly yielded and those districts which originally had not designated one of their deputies to serve as a member of the council did this. The attention of the assembly was also absorbed by the new problems which the events of October 5 and 6 presented. About the middle of October Bailly hinted that, as it had given up the work of administration, certain matters be turned over to him, but the deputies were deaf.<sup>2</sup>

Before the administrative organization was completed scruples began to arise about its legal standing. This concerned especially the department of police. Some persons argued that with the suppression of the office of lieutenant-general of police the jurisdiction which he exercised had passed to the Châtelet. Such doubts show that the period when ordinary laws could be ignored in the name of public necessity was passing away. The first to realize the difficulty were naturally those upon whom heavy responsibilities had been placed. To clear up the situation it was proposed that the National Assembly should be requested to grant to the mayor and the administrators the powers of administration and police within the city, and the control of provisions without its limits, which had formerly been possessed by the lieutenant-general of police, the Hôtel de Ville, or special commissioners. If such a request were granted, it would extend the authority conferred by the king's

acceptance of the assembly's proposals, with these exceptions, left the functions of the new assembly somewhat undefined. Several districts urged that its duty was to report on the plan of government; others asserted that it should still watch over administration; see *Extrait des Délibérations . . . de Ste. Opportune* (Bibl. Nat., pièce) and *Extrait du procès-verbal des Mathurins du 7 sept* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. Lacroix, II. 2-3, although this summary does not touch the point in question.

<sup>1</sup> *Patriote français*, no. LIV. 4. As examples of the attitude of the districts, see action of St. Marcel, in Lacroix, II. 116; *Extrait du Registre des Délibérations du District des Prémontrés, du 28 Septembre* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>2</sup> The members of the council had been chosen by October 3, but the events of the fifth and sixth delayed the first session until the eighth. Lacroix, II. 151, 216. After choosing the heads of two departments the assembly abandoned this work to the council. The bureau was organized October 20, and a few days later assumed to be the sole administrative body. *Ibid.*, 493. Bailly's suggestion to the assembly is *ibid.*, 299-300. The official who had served as treasurer under the old government was elected to the same position.

council in the matter of the grain-trade. The project found many enemies even in the communal assembly. Some objected to an appeal to the National Assembly, insisting that the districts should be consulted, others declared that the assembly should devote itself wholly to an examination of the plan of municipal organization, leaving everything to be managed as it had been. The council protested against this decision and resolved to negotiate directly with the National Assembly. Meanwhile the project had been restricted in its scope, providing merely for the department of police. The deputation appeared in the National Assembly with Bailly at its head. He explained that the communal assembly would undoubtedly have sent the project themselves had they not been absorbed by their labors on the plan of government. He urged that the responsibility to which the administrators were subjected demanded some rule of action, since it was impossible to answer for the use of an indefinite and arbitrary power. The project proposed that real criminals be turned over to the Châtelet as before. Mere disturbers of the peace were to be brought before a member of the district committee, who had power to send them to the city prison. The lieutenant in charge of the department of police or one of his councilors was to interrogate the prisoners each day, with the authority to release or to condemn to brief imprisonment or to a fine. More serious cases were to be brought before a tribunal of police made up of the mayor, his lieutenant, and eight adjunct notables. This tribunal could imprison for a month or fine to the amount of one hundred livres. When the communal assembly heard of this step, it showed intense irritation. Some of the districts also complained of the action of the council. The new department of police was fully organized by the middle of November; and the committee of police, upon which several electors still served, was released from the arduous duties which it had performed for four months.<sup>1</sup>

Before the new police tribunal was established, the municipality received extraordinary powers for the suppression of riots. The immediate occasion was the atrocious murder of the baker François, wrongfully accused of keeping back a part of the day's baking. An event so sinister, happening just after the National Assembly had begun its sessions in Paris, naturally alarmed the communal assembly. Only the day before, a deputation with Bailly at its head had declared that it was the duty of Paris to surround the National Assembly "with repose and tranquility." The whole nation had

<sup>1</sup> See *Moniteur*, II. 227, November 24; Lacroix, II. 418-419, 427-428, 437-438, 444, 479-480, 483. Text of decree, *ibid.*, 579-582. Attitude of communal assembly, *ibid.*, 542; cf. *Patriote français*, no. XC.

been assured in a solemn address, when the king had been brought to Paris and the National Assembly had announced its intentions to follow him thither, that all the inhabitants of the city were ready to shed their blood to preserve the independence of its deliberations and the personal security of its members.<sup>1</sup> If murderous mobs were to parade the streets with the head of any unfortunate man they suspected of treason, the deputies who had refused to come to Paris on the ground that in this turbulent city freedom of speech was impossible would be justified by the facts. Accordingly the communal assembly sent two or three deputations in rapid succession to the National Assembly asking for the enactment of a martial law which would permit the dispersal of mobs by force. Such a measure had already been under consideration. It was put into form and enacted the same day. The king sanctioned it immediately, and the following day it was publicly proclaimed.<sup>2</sup>

This law gave to the municipality the right upon its own judgment of the facts to decide when the occasion had arrived for the use of force against a mob. The signal should be the display of a red flag from the windows of the Hôtel de Ville and in the streets and squares of the city. Instantly all assemblages of people with or without arms become criminal. If the mob does not disperse, the soldiers, preceded by the red flag and accompanied by at least one municipal officer, are to march to the spot. In order that peaceful citizens may have an opportunity to retire and that just grievances may be heard, the crowd may appoint a deputation of six persons to present their requests, after which it must disperse at once. If it does not disperse, there are to be three summonses and then the soldiers are to fire. Even radical journalists like Loustalot acknowledged that such a law was necessary, and Brissot regarded it as a masterpiece of precision, of foresight, and of just proportion between crime and penalty. One of the members of the communal committee of police afterward declared that from the enactment of this law dated the revival of public tranquility, and that by the first of November Paris ceased to be the theatre of factions.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Bailly's speech is given in Lacroix, II. 345-346; the address of the Commune, *ibid.*, 245-247. It is to the credit of French justice that the leaders of the François mob were tried immediately and hanged within thirty-six hours of the commission of the crime.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, II. 363, 364, note 4, 377-379; text of law, 385-386; Duvergier, I. 52-53.

<sup>3</sup> *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVI. The quotation from this journal by Lacroix, II. 435, is misleading. *Patriote français*, no. LXXVI.; *Chronique de Paris*, I. 259; Godard, *Exposé*, 90. There was slight opposition in one or two districts; for this, see Lacroix, II. 422-423; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVI. 3; *Journal de Paris*, October 31; *Bataillon de Saint Martin-des-Champs* (Bibl. Nat., pièce);

## VI.

Until the meeting of the second communal assembly, September 19, the controversy over functions and powers had been chiefly between the assembly and the mayor. It now became a struggle between the assembly and the districts. Intimations of such a conflict had not been wanting during the earlier period, but the districts were then too busily occupied with their own organization to be jealously watchful of the Hôtel de Ville. The local police had fallen into their hands, and their military patrols were the sole means of preserving order. They were obliged also to exercise in minor matters a rude though not always unfriendly justice.<sup>1</sup> The organization which they adopted to meet these conditions varied with the character and aspirations of each district. Several drew up an elaborate constitution and provided themselves with a full panoply of committees—"grand", "central", finance, subsistence, military affairs, and police. Their critics accused them of doing this to satisfy the thirst of the more ambitious members for office. Brissot remarked that there was not a petty lawyer who did not aspire to be a Demosthenes, not a student who was not determined to become commandant. In some districts, he added, there were more officers than soldiers.<sup>2</sup> The general assembly of the district theoretically included all persons—clergy, nobles, or bourgeois—who possessed the qualifications fixed for the original primary assemblies. After the first excitement was over, service in the civic guard and in the assemblies became wearisome. Government in the districts, as afterward in Paris, fell into the hands of an energetic and sometimes noisy minority.<sup>3</sup>

The desire of the more ambitious district politicians to carry out their schemes or to provide for the needs of their own localities without delay gave color to the accusation that Paris was divided into "sixty little republics." Some districts were in the habit of

*Appel des sieurs Martin et Duval* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *District de St. Martin-des-Champs* (Bibl. Nat., pièce).

<sup>1</sup> The larger part of the "Délibérations du comité civil du district des Mathurins" is taken up with such affairs (Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2696, fol. 48-120).

<sup>2</sup> Quénard, *Tableau historique*, 48; *Révolutions de Paris*, no. VII. 7; *Patriote français*, no. XIX. The district of Prémontrés had an elaborate constitution. For that of St. Étienne-du-Mont, see *Règlement provisoire* (Bibl. Nat., pièce) under date of July 27. For problem in other districts, see Bibl. Nat. MSS. fr. nouv. acq. 2670, fol. 2-4, 6, 53, and 2696, fol. 40.

<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to form an exact estimate of numbers in the district assemblies where so many records have been destroyed. On July 22 there were 130 in Saint-Roch out of about 2,500 citizens resident in the district. On September 11 at the Mathurins there were 140 votes cast in the election of the new deputies. Hardy MS., "Mes Loisirs," VIII. 471.

placarding their decrees even outside their own limits. One of them ordered the release of certain prisoners from La Force. When the concierge did not obey, he was summoned to appear before the central committee; and the threat was added that, if he did not come voluntarily, soldiers would be sent to fetch him. Only the intervention of the communal assembly and of Lafayette prevented this. Other districts went to the arsenal and seized cannon and powder. In several instances expeditions were made into the country in search of arms. Sometimes it was grain or flour that these expeditions sought. In one instance a district stopped a convoy of flour in Paris on its way to the market and distributed the flour to bakeries within the district.<sup>1</sup> In another case a district assumed the functions of the former lieutenant-general of police and issued formal decrees regulating, presumably within its own limits, public carriages, speed of driving, butchers' shops, etc.<sup>2</sup> There was no intention to cause disunion, but such inconsiderate use of power led toward actual anarchy.

The reluctance of the district politicians to part with power even after they had constituted a municipal assembly was illustrated in the spasmodic attempts to form a central committee or clearing-house for the liquidation of conflicting opinions. The scheme was first proposed when the question of substituting an assembly for the electors was agitating the districts. Hardly had the new assembly been organized before its attention was called to the existence of another assembly holding sessions at the archbishop's palace and calling itself the Central Committee of Correspondence. Several of the districts which approved the scheme were, however, anxious that it should not take the semblance of a regular assembly with officers, records, debates, etc. According to this view it should only collect and transmit information in order that a common policy might control the action of all the districts. Others argued that its duty was to watch the municipal assembly, which, said they, was far from being infallible. So many districts were either indifferent or opposed to the idea that it could not then be embodied in an effective organization. Late in October another attempt was made. At this time the controversy between the assembly and the districts was becoming acute. Officials or commissioners from forty-two

<sup>1</sup> *Extrait des délibérations de l'assemblée du district de Ste. Opportune, du 5 août, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Discours* of M. Godard, ex-president of the Blancs-Manteaux (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Révolutions de Paris*, nos. V. 31, 33, VI. 32, VII. 7-11; Bailly, *Mémoires*, II. 282, 314, 353, 371; Hardy MS., 444-445; Lacroix, I. 276-277, 462-463, 551-552, 562-563.

<sup>2</sup> For example, *Extrait des Délibérations du District des Petits-Augustins du 4 août, 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce). Cf. another case, Bailly, II. 258.

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districts held a meeting. Although at their second meeting only twenty-three were represented, a plan of action was sent to the districts, which, if adopted, would have dispensed with the communal assembly. Each district was to communicate its projects to the other districts, which were to meet at once and formulate their views. If these were favorable, the deputies of the district which originally proposed the project were to draw it up at the Central Committee in the presence of the deputies of the other districts, after which all should be "obliged to conform to it as the decision of the majority." This plan of direct government got no farther because a majority of the districts were not yet in the mood to crowd the communal assembly out of the place it had been created to fill. It was only in the spring of 1790 that an assembly at the archbishop's palace, with the assistance of Mayor Bailly, succeeded for a time in posing as the real agency for communal action.<sup>1</sup>

## VII.

The issue between the municipal assembly and the more ambitious district leaders turned upon the question whether the assembly could make necessary regulations or ordinances without consulting the districts; and whether, after the council and *bureau* were organized, it should not restrict itself to the completion of the plan of municipal government. The legislative power, these men insisted, belonged to the districts. Some added that even the National Assembly could not interfere in purely local concerns. Others sought to weaken the position of the municipal assembly by arguing the provisional character of the Paris government and asserting that, until the National Assembly had given the city a municipal constitution, the municipal assembly had no right to pass laws or ordinances.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the earlier projects of such an organization, see *Extrait du procès-verbal de l'assemblée du district de l'Oratoire* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Vœu d'un citoyen* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Discours prononcé par M. Javon*, probably before July 28 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Extrait des délibérations . . . de St. Louis-en-l'Isle* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), July 30; *Extrait du procès-verbal de l'Assemblée du district des Mathurins, du 7 août 1789* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); see also Lacroix, I. 30, 33-36. For the later period, see *Chronique de Paris*, no. LXX.; *Journal de la Municipalité et des Districts*, October 28, 30, November 4, 6; *Extrait d'une Délibération du D. des Mathurins*, November 6 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XVIII.; see also Lacroix, II. 533-534, 537-541.

<sup>2</sup> The point of view of the opposition districts is illustrated in the following: for Saint-Roch's declaration of November 9, see Lacroix, II. 553, cf. 642; *Adresse Respectueuse du D. de St. Leu à l'Assemblée Nationale* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); for Prémontrés, *Extraits*, of September 28 and October 2, and *Observations sommaires*, October 31 (Bibl. Nat., pièces); *Extrait* of November 18 (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 286); for St. Germain-des-Prés, *Révolutions de Paris*, XVII., cf.

Much of the opposition of the districts to the communal assembly received its impulse from the decision to form six companies of chasseurs which should guard the city gates and assist the tax officers in collecting the octroi. Ever since the uprising in July it had been difficult to collect this tax. The loss could ill be endured because the government was threatened with bankruptcy. If the gates were to be guarded effectively, this duty must be intrusted to paid companies. The citizens of the districts were unwilling to perform their ordinary guard duties and could not be depended upon for such services. Moreover there were many soldiers in the city, particularly Swiss, whom it had been impossible to incorporate in the paid companies of the districts and who could not be sent home. Several districts objected to further military organizations of this sort. One declared that it would never abandon the control of the gates within its own limits unless the organization of the chasseurs had been approved by the majority of the districts. This agitation did not prevent the communal assembly from voting another company to guard the central market, where serious disorders were endangering the flour trade.<sup>1</sup>

Lacroix, II. 576; for St. Honoré, *Extrait des Registres* (Arch. Nat., C 33, no. 286 bis); *Extrait des Délibérations de l'Assemblée générale du D. des Petits-Augustins*, September 19 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); St. Marcel, *Extrait des registres*, October 20 (Bibl. Nat., pièce); Saint-Séverin, *Assemblée générale du 20 Nov.* (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 268 bis); St. Louis-de-la-Culture, decrees, etc., of November 9, 16, 19. For Cordeliers, see below. Several of these decrees or deliberations are quoted in whole or part by Lacroix in his notes. The most enthusiastic supporter of direct legislation was Loustalot, who argued that the function of the communal assembly was to lay propositions in a simple form before the districts. He believed that much might be done also in large assemblies like those held in Rome, and he published diagrams of an ingenious sounding-board which would place the speaker's mouth at the foci of two parabolas, the curve of one immediately behind him and that of the other beneath him. The representative system he denounced as a relic of medieval feudalism and simply a new form of slavery. *Révolutions de Paris*, September 19, no. XIV. 15-21, XV. 15-16, XVII., XVIII. 8-14, XXI. 20-21. The Abbé Fauchet, a popular preacher, later one of the Girondist group, advocated similar views in the communal assembly itself; see *Motion faite par l'abbé Fauchet*, November 20, 25, December 2 (Bibl. Nat., pièce). The view favorable to the communal assembly is illustrated in the following: St. Jacques-de-l'Hôpital, *Extraits des différentes Délibérations*, etc. (Arch. Nat. C 33, no. 286); Ste. Opportune, November 21, *Extrait* (Bibl. Nat., pièce); St. Germain-l'Auxerrois, in Lacroix, II. 674-675; Carnes, *ibid.*, III. 6.

<sup>1</sup> The question of the chasseurs came up in connection with nearly all theoretical criticisms of the assembly. The most noteworthy pronunciamiento was one by the Petits Augustins, in which its views were emphasized by capitals. Apropos of the nominations of officers it declared "que cette nomination est un ATTENTAT AUX DROITS ET LA LIBERTE DE TOUS LES CITOYENS, Qu'elle Annonce L'Exercice D'Une Autorité Arbitraire", etc. (Bibl. Nat., pièce); the efforts of St. Louis-la-Culture, November 9, 16, 19 (Bibl. Nat., pièces), are also instructive. Cf. Lacroix, II. 405-407, 476, 502-503, III. 19-22.



The conflict between the communal assembly and the district of the Cordeliers, under the leadership of Danton, is the most notable illustration of the tendencies of the opposition. Early in October the Cordeliers had called upon the other districts to assist in effecting the release of the Marquis de St. Huruge, one of the noisiest agitators of the Palais Royal, on the ground that his arrest, made by the municipal officers, had been illegal. When the municipality instituted proceedings at the Châtelet against Marat, who in *L'Ami du Peuple* mingled criticism, rough satire, calumny, and provocations to sedition, the district voted that it would with all its power defend authors within its limits against "voies de fait", although it declined to resist any effort of those who were libeled to obtain redress by the ordinary processes of law. An attempt of the officers of the Châtelet to make an arrest was apparently considered an act of violence.<sup>1</sup>

These were simply skirmishes before the battle. Late in the same month the Cordeliers "enjoined" its deputies to invite the municipal assembly to urge upon the National Assembly the trial of Besenval<sup>2</sup> or his transver to Paris from Brie-Comte-Robert, where a large guard was stationed at the expense of the city. The assembly had already done what it could, and its members were irritated that the matter was raised in this way. They did not relish the implications of the word "enjoin", and they seized the occasion to complain formally of the constant interference of the districts in administration by deliberations and decrees publicly placarded, and asked the Cordeliers in particular to refrain from placarding decrees which tended to disturb civic harmony. The reply of the Cordeliers was prompt. It denied that the assembly had a right to trace for the districts the limits of their activity until the National Assembly had given the city its legal organization. The district further declared that its deputies had agreed to take an oath

<sup>1</sup> Marat's case was first taken up September 25; Lacroix, II. 69; for further action, see *ibid.*, 157-158, 201-202, 319-320, 344. His attacks on the municipality began with number VIII., two days after the journal had been changed from *Publiciste parisien* to *L'Ami du Peuple*. For especially violent diatribes, see nos. XV. and XXVI. In no. XVIII. he tells of his experiences at the Hôtel de Ville when summoned to appear before the assembly. In no. XXV. he called for the appointment of a "Tribune" armed with military power, and provoked the National Guard to sedition. See further, *Révolutions de Paris*, October 2, pp. 34-38; *Chronique de Paris*, October 8. Marat had incidentally praised Peyrilhe, one of the deputies of the Cordeliers. In October 9 Peyrilhe wrote to the *Chronique de Paris* protesting "que cet éloge partant d'une plume qui distille la sédition et la calumnie, m'outrage et m'afflige profondément." For action of Cordeliers, see *Extrait du Registre . . . du 7 Oct.* (Bibl. Nat., pièce), and *Chronique de Paris* for October 13.

<sup>2</sup> For the Besenval case, see the REVIEW for January, 1905 (X. 304-305).



to conform to everything prescribed by their constituents. This oath acknowledged that as deputies they were revocable at the will of their constituents and that they had no authority to concur in any organizations of a civil or military character which should not first have received the sanction of the districts. When the oath was actually tendered to the deputies of the Cordeliers a few days later, three of them resigned rather than take it. The assembly refused to recognize these resignations as valid. Had it paused here, its case would have had the better chance of success, as the sequel proved. But it was not content with a strong defensive position; it undertook to force the fighting by annulling the decree of the Cordeliers, by declaring the oath void, and by expelling one of the deputies of the district who had boasted that he was the originator of the scheme to demand an oath. Both sides appealed to the National Assembly and to the districts. Several districts which sympathized with the Cordeliers recalled their deputies, others rallied to the support of the assembly. The situation became daily more intricate and embarrassing.<sup>1</sup>

For the National Assembly the question was also embarrassing. However comprehensive its functions, they certainly did not include the decision of questions of legal theory, especially in the case of a city under a provisional régime organized mainly by itself. But the matter was referred to a committee, and its report, November 23, on the whole supported the contentions of the communal assembly, although it declared that the assembly had exceeded its functions in denying the right of the Cordeliers to choose three deputies in place of those who had resigned. The claim of the Cordeliers of authority to exact an oath or to revoke its deputies is explicitly denied, because, declares the committee, "it is important that the representatives of each district fill their functions until the expiration of the time set by their credentials or until they have given their voluntary resignation, and that they be held to no other oath than that of filling honorably the mission which they have accepted." According to this the communal assembly would be obliged to receive the newly elected members and to retain the two deputies who had taken the oath. Before the Assembly had an opportunity to take a vote, one of its members explained that already thirty-eight districts had rejected the decree of the Cordeliers and

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, II. 463-464, 637-641, 644. The various deliberations of the Cordeliers are given in a little collection (Bibl. Nat., L<sup>n</sup> 40/254). For the action of the districts for or against the contention of the Cordeliers, see résumé with documents in Lacroix, III. 28-32. Cf. *Patriote français*, no. CVI. Brissot's opinion was, "en thèse générale, le Peuple, en matière de Constitution, peut assujétir ses Mandataires à son volonté—il ne peut pas en matière de Législation."

that it was hoped the other twenty-two (*sic*) would speedily follow their example. Under the impression of this assurance, the Assembly decided to close the discussion raised between the districts and to order that the matter should stand as it had stood before November 11. The effect of this was to put the communal assembly in the right, for if a longer discussion of the question was formally deprecated and the *status quo ante bellum* was resumed, the districts by implication had no power to exact an oath or to revoke their deputies. On the other hand, if the deputies themselves yielded to pressure and resigned, the communal assembly had no remedy except vain protests. This was what happened in the Cordeliers case, for those who had resigned persisted in their resignation, so that the assembly was obliged to admit their successors. Indeed they did this without question.<sup>1</sup>

Scarcely had the storm subsided when it broke out again with renewed fury. This time the occasion was the long-deferred plan of a municipal constitution. On November 26 the National Assembly had decided that Paris, on account of its immense population, should have a special charter, and plainly intimated that this charter was to be drawn up by the Assembly itself. The municipal constitution-makers, who had approached their task with such elaborate and almost reverential deliberateness, were naturally

<sup>1</sup> For the report of the committee, see Lacroix, III. 32-33. The statement that a majority of the districts had rejected the pretention of the Cordeliers seems substantiated by an analysis of the action of the districts, sworn to in the presence of the mayor November 22; for this see *ibid.*, 34-35. The paper is confirmed by the statements of the *Courrier de Provence* and by Brissot in his *Patriote français*, although the *Révolutions de Paris*, no. XX., accused Brissot of lying impudently in this matter. M. Lacroix believes that the honors rested with the Cordeliers. He remarks (p. 35), "juridiquement, la question resta indécise: le mandat impératif, le droit de révocabilité permanente restèrent discutables et discutés. Mais, en fait, le district des Cordeliers triompha; sa volonté prévalut malgré l'opposition de l'Assemblée des Représentants de la Commune." Against this view stands the fact that the main contentions of the Cordeliers were practically abandoned by it and by its supporters, although it did maintain its right to substitute new deputies for those who had resigned. It is also significant that the *Révolutions de Paris* is especially bitter after the decision and criticizes the action of the National Assembly. M. Aulard in his article on "Danton au District des Cordeliers" (*La Révolution française*, XXIV. 138) strangely represents the report of the National Assembly's committee as giving "raison aux Cordeliers", ignoring everything in the report save what was said about receiving the new deputies. However exaggerated may have been the pretensions of the assembly, it is difficult to see what advantage could come from the attempt to render it powerless to administer a city which as yet had no definitive organization. The action of the districts seems to have been largely directed by petty jealousy concealed behind a screen of glittering principles. Danton himself became quiet as soon as he was chosen a member of the assembly in January, 1790. M. Aulard says, "Son rôle y fut très effacé," *ibid.*, 142.

aroused by such a step. Two days before, they had again voted to take up the discussion of some scheme or of the Brissot plan. Brissot now made a move which if successful would have checkmated those who wished to begin the inquiry anew without giving chief attention to his plan. On the thirtieth he moved that an address be sent to the National Assembly explaining that Paris had been obliged by circumstances to organize a provisional government, that a committee had been asked to submit a plan for a new municipality, a part of which had been accepted provisionally by the districts, and that the "240" were actually engaged upon a further examination of this plan. The address was also to ask that the Assembly authorize its constitutional committee to consider this plan in conference with a committee to be appointed by the "240" in order that the project finally adopted might meet the special requirements of the capital as well as conform to the general principles of municipal law sanctioned by the National Assembly.<sup>1</sup> The news of this motion spread rapidly through the districts. Several of those which had already signalized themselves by their attacks on the communal assembly regarded the motion as a scheme to deprive the districts of any influence upon the result of the constitutional discussions. Violent remonstrances were sent in before the deputies had had time to complete their debate. One district sent a deputation to the other fifty-nine asking that delegates be sent to the next public session of the "240", to "summon them in full assembly to keep to the letter of their powers and even to withdraw without delay to the archbishop's palace to fulfil this duty". After a long discussion Brissot's motion was lost, but the action taken involved the same principle of co-operation with the constitutional committee of the National Assembly; for a new commission of twenty-four, which was given the task of preparing the bases for the municipal constitution, was authorized to confer with the committee of the National Assembly as often as it saw fit. A sop was thrown to Cerberus by voting that as each article was completed it should be sent to the districts for approval.<sup>2</sup>

#### VIII.

The appointment, December 2, of a new committee upon a municipal constitution marked the close of another period in the

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, III, 82-83, and note 3, 88 *et seqq.*; cf. *Patriote français* (December 4), no. CXVIII., and *Révolutions de Paris* (November 28-December 5), no. XXI.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, III, 96-99. Lacroix analyzes the action of the districts in notes 1, 2, and 3, pp. 103 *et seqq.* The chairman of the new committee was the Marquis de Condorcet. Brissot's motion is regarded by Lacroix as accounting for the distrust with which even the Condorcet committee was regarded by the districts.

Revolutionary career of Paris. The work done on the Brissot plan had not been altogether vain, for the provisional government, which had at length been organized, embodied its most important suggestions. Nor was the new plan destined to depart from it materially. From this time the business of the communal assembly ceased to be administrative and concerned itself with the new plan as it was reported article by article. As soon as an article was completed, it was submitted to the districts. For a while the attacks of the districts ceased. It was unlikely, however, that the district politicians, who believed in direct government, would find no other occasions to illustrate their favorite theory. Indeed, the months which still remained before the provisional government went out of existence were characterized especially by the action of the Commune through its district assemblies. The law provided by the National Assembly seemed at first to put an end to their career, for it assigned to them chiefly electoral functions and ordered that as soon as the elections were completed the assemblies should close. It was soon discovered that even under this law there was machinery enough to bring them into existence again for any purpose which appealed to a sufficient number of citizens. It was the same instrument of revolutionary action, though differently fashioned. What the convening of the sections meant in 1792 or in 1793 is well understood. The consequences were the "Great Days" of August 10 and June 2. The method was not invented by the Jacobins, it had been devised by the bourgeois of 1789. It might be used to overthrow a government which was betraying the country to the invader, but it might also bring on a Reign of Terror.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

## THE TRAVELS OF JONATHAN CARVER

It may be questioned whether any book of American authorship in the eighteenth century achieved a more instant or a more widespread international reputation than the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver. Published in London in 1778, at the turning-point in the American Revolution, it went into a second edition the next year and at the same time another edition was issued in Dublin. A German translation was published in 1780, and a French one in 1784, of which there were two issues. In 1796 it was translated into Dutch. In addition there were subsequent reissues in London and Edinburgh and American reprints at Philadelphia, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, Boston, Walpole, New Hampshire, and New York. Pilling in his *Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages* describes sixteen editions and enumerates twenty-three. The book was not only widely popular, but it took high rank among descriptions of Indian life. In literary merit it is so far above the general level of American writing in that period that the late Moses Coit Tyler found it difficult to restrain his enthusiasm. He ascribes to it "unsurpassed value" for its "true and precise information concerning the 'manners, customs, religion, and language of the Indians'". "Besides its worth for instruction, is its worth for delight; we have no other 'Indian book' more captivating than this. Here is the charm of a sincere, powerful, and gentle personality—the charm of novel and significant facts, of noble ideas, of humane sentiments, all uttered in English well-ordered and pure."<sup>1</sup> Surely a veritable oasis in the arid wastes of our literature in the Revolutionary period. But neither popular interest nor the enthusiasm of the literary historian reveals all the contribution of this unlettered Connecticut shoemaker and soldier to modern literature. From Carver's *Travels* Chateaubriand drew not a few of the descriptions of Indian customs for his fascinating and poetic *Voyage en Amérique*.<sup>2</sup> From the same source Schiller derived the language and thought for his "Nadowessiers Todtenlied", familiar to English readers through Bulwer-Lytton's translation as "The Indian Death-Dirge".

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Tyler, *The Literary History of the American Revolution*, I. 150.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Joseph Bédier, *Études Critiques* (Paris, 1903), the second part of his study, "Chateaubriand en Amérique: Vérité et Fiction, ou Les Sources," 194–214.

In the pages of Carver's *Travels* the youthful Bryant probably first met with the sonorous name which the traveller applied to the great river of the unexplored Pacific Northwest, and which the poet used so effectively in "Thanatopsis":

the continuous woods  
Where rolls the Oregon, and hears no sound,  
Save his own dashings.

Made familiar by the poem, this name, whose origin has baffled modern investigation, was soon transferred from the river to the territory through which it flowed.<sup>1</sup>

It is from Carver again that have been derived the ordinary accounts of the massacre of Fort William Henry in 1757, and the way in which Major Gladwin in Detroit was forewarned of the treacherous attack to be made upon him.<sup>2</sup> To the student of western exploration Carver appeals as the first traveller of English speech to explore any part of the interior west of the Mississippi River, and the *Travels* are therefore of primary interest to all interested in the early history of Wisconsin, Minnesota, and the Lake Superior region. A work so famous in the literature of travel and of such presumable importance among the early accounts of the Northwest may appropriately be subjected to a critical examination with a view to determine, if possible, its real value as an original work.<sup>3</sup>

The author of the *Travels* is described on the title-page of the first edition as "J. Carver, Esq., Captain of a Company of Provincial Troops during the late war with France". To the third edition, 1781, is prefixed "Some account of the Author", which would be supposed to have been derived from Carver himself. It reads as follows:

Jonathan Carver, the author of the following work, was grandson of William Joseph Carver, of Wigan in Lancashire, who was a captain

<sup>1</sup> The first definite proposal to name the region Oregon was made by John Floyd of Virginia in his bill for the occupation of the Columbia River country presented in the House of Representatives, January 18, 1822: "When the population of the settlement amounts to two thousand souls, all that portion of the territory of the United States north of the 42d degree of latitude, and west of the Rocky Mountains, is to constitute a territory of the United States, under the name of the Territory of Origon [sic]." *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXI. 350.

<sup>2</sup> On this account, which seems not to be authentic, see Charles Moore, *The Northwest under Three Flags* (New York, 1900), 113 *et seqq.*

<sup>3</sup> I did not get access to the careful paper by John Goadby Gregory on Jonathan Carver: *His Travels in the Northwest in 1766-8* (Parkman Club Publications No. 5, Milwaukee, 1896) until after this paper was completed in its original form. I am indebted to Mr. Gregory's paper for two or three references which have been very serviceable in expanding it.

in the army under king William, and served in Ireland with such distinguished reputation, that that prince was pleased to reward him with the government of Connecticut in New-England, which appears to have been the first appointment to that station by the crown. Our author was born, anno 1732, at Stillwater, in the province of Connecticut, since rendered famous by the surrender of the army under General Burgoyne; his father, who resided at this place, and acted as a justice of the peace, died, when he was only fifteen years of age. He had received the rudiments of as liberal an education as could be procured in that neighbourhood, and, being designed for the practice of medicine, he was soon after his father's death placed with a gentleman of that profession in Elizabeth Town, in the same province. A profession that requires not only a close and regular attention, but likewise a steady perseverance, was not suited to that spirit of bold enterprize and adventure, which seemed to be the ruling passion of our author, who, at the age of eighteen, purchased an ensigncy in the Connecticut regiment, in which, as I have been informed, he acquired so much reputation, as to obtain the command of a company. Of this event, however, I have not found the least mention among his papers, nor, indeed, of any other important circumstance of his life till the year 1757.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly not an improbable biography of the author for English readers, but yet one which contains many perplexities for the American student until he discovers that it is fictitious! Instead of being the grandson of a distinguished English military officer, the first royal governor of Connecticut, and of having been born in Stillwater, Connecticut, where General Burgoyne surrendered, and instead of studying medicine at Elizabeth Town, Connecticut, and later purchasing an ensigncy in the Connecticut regiment, Jonathan Carver's extraction and early life were much more ordinary and even prosaic.<sup>2</sup> We are indebted to the Reverend Samuel Peters, the spicy and spiteful historian of Connecticut, for a more satisfactory clue to the birthplace of Jonathan Carver, and to an equally imaginary descent. In a deposition made in 1824 to forward the cause of the famous Carver claim in Congress Dr. Peters testified that he had known Carver since 1754. "He was born in Canterbury, in the colony of Connecticut, near where I was born; he is great grandson of JOHN CARVER, the first English governor that settled at Plymouth, in New England, A. D. 1620."<sup>3</sup>

After premising that Governor Carver left no male issue, we may trace briefly the career of Jonathan Carver of Canterbury, who

<sup>1</sup> *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768.* By J. Carver, Esq., etc. (London, 1781), 1-3.

<sup>2</sup> There is no Stillwater in Connecticut, and Stillwater, New York, was not settled until 1750. There is no Elizabeth Town in Connecticut. As for the royal governor and the Connecticut regiment, comment is unnecessary.

<sup>3</sup> Documents appended to article by D. S. Durrie on "Captain Jonathan Carver, and 'Carver's Grant'". *Collections of the Wisconsin State Historical Society*, VI. 268.

appears to be the original of the traveller. Jonathan Carver of Canterbury, the date of whose birth is not known, married in that town Abigail Robbins in 1746. In 1753 he moved to Northfield, Massachusetts, where he is credited with having made twenty pairs of shoes for Moses Field in 1754. In the winter of 1756-1757 Major John Burk, of Northfield, raised a company of rangers, in the list of which occurs the name of Jonathan Carver, but with no place of residence recorded. The names of the members of Burk's company captured at Fort William Henry in 1757 have been preserved, but Carver is not included.<sup>1</sup> Of this Jonathan Carver and his wife seven children were born, the eldest in 1747 and the youngest in 1762. One son, Rufus Carver, was a Revolutionary soldier and died after 1837 in Sodus, New York. There are living descendants of the daughter Abigail, who married Joshua Goss in 1774. Nothing further in regard to the military career of this Jonathan Carver can be said with positiveness. That this Jonathan Carver is the traveller seems well established. Apparently he did nothing for and had nothing to do with his family after 1763, and in England he married again and had two children. His first wife lived until 1802. The Reverend Dr. Peters was no doubt kept in ignorance of that fact, for he avers in the deposition above mentioned that Carver "supported a brave character during that war, and ever after a moral character".

Turning now to the "Introduction" to the *Travels*, we are informed that after the treaty of peace in 1763 the author formed the project of exploring "the most unknown parts" of the territory acquired by England and particularly of familiarizing himself with "the Manners, Customs, Languages, Soil, and natural Productions of the different nations that inhabit the back of the Mississippi" in order to "ascertain the Breadth of that vast continent", and, having done so, to establish a trading-post on the northwest Pacific coast. Such a post would "facilitate the discovery of a Northwest Passage" and "open a passage for conveying intelligence to China, and the English settlements in the East Indies."<sup>2</sup>

The largeness of these ideas in 1763 is apparent and at first sight marks Captain Carver as a sort of forerunner of Jefferson and of Lewis and Clark. They were, however, substantially the plans of the French government in 1717, and the historian and explorer

<sup>1</sup>J. H. Temple and G. Sheldon, *History of Northfield, Massachusetts* (Albany, 1875), 300, 418; John Montague Smith, *History of Sunderland, Massachusetts* (Greenfield, Mass., 1899), 283. I am indebted for these references to Judge Daniel W. Bond of Boston.

<sup>2</sup>Carver's *Travels* (1781), i-vi, *passim*.



Charlevoix was commissioned to go to America and make the necessary preliminary studies and report.<sup>1</sup> The project, in the end, proved impracticable, and all that Carver was able to accomplish was a journey from Michilimackinac to the Mississippi by the Fox and Wisconsin River route, a voyage up the Saint Peter's or Minnesota River, and, upon his return, the exploration of northern Wisconsin and the north shore of Lake Superior. In England Carver vainly endeavored to enlist the Board of Trade in his plans for northwestern exploration. He went to England in 1769 carrying a letter of introduction from Samuel Cooper of Boston to Benjamin Franklin, who thanked his correspondent "for giving me the opportunity of being acquainted with so great a traveller".<sup>2</sup> After many vicissitudes he died January 31, 1780. The first edition of his *Travels through the Interior Parts of North America, in the Years 1766, 1767, and 1768* was published in 1778, and inscribed to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society. The work proper consists of an "Introduction," "A Journal of the Travels" comprising 164 pages, and a treatise "Of the Origin, Manners, Customs, Religion, and Language of the Indians" comprising 346 pages, with a short geographical appendix. It is this second and larger part, constituting a fairly complete natural history of the upper Mississippi valley, that has given Carver's *Travels* its position in the literature of primitive America. It is also this second part that invites a more detailed critical examination than it has yet received. My attention was first called to the matter some years ago when I came upon the following significant comment upon Carver and the *Travels* in a letter which Oliver Wolcott of Connecticut, at that time Auditor of the Treasury of the United States, wrote in 1792 to the geographer Jedediah Morse. Wolcott remarks:

In describing the unsettled northern regions, I perceive Carver is cited as an authority. I know not whom you can take for a guide, more consistently with the present state of public opinion, and yet I suspect but little credit is due to the book published in his name. By information which I have obtained respecting Carver, I am satisfied that his book was compiled under very inauspicious circumstances. He doubtless resided a number of years in the western country, but was an ignorant man, utterly incapable of writing such a book. When in England he was in needy circumstances, and he applied to the government, stating that he had made important discoveries, for which he was entitled to receive compensation. His notes were inspected by a board, who pronounced them to be unimportant. A sum of money was however given him, more in charity to relieve his wants than as a reward for important

<sup>1</sup> Parkman, *A Half-Century of Conflict* (ed. 1897), II. 4-5.

<sup>2</sup> Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow ed.), IV. 239.

services. When his money was expended he renewed his application, but was refused. He then abused the administration for having obtained of him his work, without having paid a proper compensation. To silence his clamor, the notes which had been deposited with the officers of the government were restored, which were soon after pawned by Carver with a bookseller. There is reason to suspect, that the book styled *Carver's Travels*, is a mere compilation from other books and common reports, supported by some new remarks which Carver may possibly have made. It will therefore in my judgment be most safe for the future reputation of your book, that but little credit be given to Carver's *Travels*, except where his accounts are supported by some collateral authority.<sup>1</sup>

The source of Wolcott's information I am unable to give. It may possibly have come through his Connecticut friends and correspondents Joel Barlow and John Trumbull, who had been in London on different occasions before 1792. Noteworthy in any case is Wolcott's positive assertion that Carver was "an ignorant man, utterly incapable of writing such a book."

A year or two later, in reading Greenhow's *History of Oregon*, I ran across a more detailed and explicit impeachment of Carver's *Travels*. Greenhow declared that the longer second part, on the Indians, animals, and plants, etc.,

is extracted almost entirely, and, in many parts, *verbatim*, from the French journals and histories. The book was written, or rather made up, at London, at the suggestion of Dr. Lettsom and other gentlemen, and printed for the purpose of relieving the wants of the author, who, however, died there, in misery, in 1780, at the age of 48.<sup>2</sup>

Whether this positive assertion as to the origin of Carver's book rests upon definite information or is a deduction from internal evidence, I do not know, but Greenhow's convictions were positive. In his text he refers (pp. 144-145) to the vagueness of Carver's descriptions of places, peoples, and things, and to his "many and glaring plagiarisms" from authors he disparages. To justify this language Greenhow added the following résumé in a foot-note:

In proof that no injustice is here done to Carver's memory, read his magisterial and contemptuous remarks on the works of Hennepin, Lahontan, and Charlevoix, in the first chapter of his account of the origin, manners, etc., of the Indians; and then compare his chapters describing, as from personal observation, the ceremonies of marriage, burial, hunting, and others, of the natives of the Upper Mississippi countries, with those of Lahontan, showing the conduct of the Iroquois, of Canada, on similar occasions, by which it will be seen that Carver has simply translated from Lahontan the whole of the accounts, even to the speeches of

<sup>1</sup> George Gibbs, *Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams* (New York, 1846), I. 76.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California*, etc. (Boston, 1844), 142, note.

*the chiefs.* Carver's chapter on the origin of the Indians is merely an abridgment from Charlevoix's "*Dissertation*" on the same subject. His descriptions of the language, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants of the Upper Mississippi regions, are entirely at variance with those of the same tribes at the present day, as clearly shown by the observations of Pike, Long, and other persons of unquestionable character, who have since visited that part of America. Keating, in his interesting narrative of Long's expedition in 1823, expresses his belief that Carver "ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may have entered it; but, had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with the language of the people, he would not have applied to them the name of *Naudowessies*, and omitted to call them the *Dacota Indians*, as they style themselves."

In regard to Keating's *Narrative* of Long's second expedition it may be added that in it the indebtedness of Carver's *Travels* to Lahontan was brought to public notice in 1824.<sup>1</sup> This is the earliest published impeachment of the originality of the *Travels* that I have met with. More specific were the charges noted by Henry R. Schoolcraft in his "Journal" under the date of April 9, 1823, upon completing a careful perusal of Hennepin, La Hontan, and Carver, undertaken when he expected to be selected to head the expedition to explore the St. Peter's River which was conducted by Long. Schoolcraft writes:

Carver, who went from Boston to the Mississippi in the latter part of the 18th century, is not an author to glean much from. I, however, re-perused his volume carefully, and extracted notes. Some of the stories inserted in his work have thrown an air of discredit over it, and caused the whole work to be regarded in rather an apocryphal light. I think there is internal evidence enough in his narrative to prove that he visited the chief portions of country described. But he probably neglected to keep diurnal notes. When in London, starvation stared him in the face. Those in office to whom he represented his plans probably listened to him awhile, and afterwards lost sight of, or neglected him. He naturally fell into the hands of the booksellers, who deemed him a good subject to get a book from. But his original journal did not probably afford matter enough, in point of bulk. In this exigency, the old French and English authors appear to have been drawn upon; and probably their works contributed by far the larger part of the volume after the 114th page (Philadelphia ed. 1796), which concludes the "Journal." I think it questionable whether some literary hack was not employed, by the booksellers, to draw up the part of the work "On the origin, manners, customs, religion, and language of the Indians." Considerable portions of the matter are nearly verbatim in the language of Charlevoix, La Hontan, and other authors of previous date. The "vocabulary of Chippewa," so far as it is Chippewa at all, has the

<sup>1</sup> William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter's River, Lake Winnepeeh, Lake of the Woods, etc., etc., . . . under the command of Stephen H. Long* (Philadelphia, 2 vols., 1824), I. 323-324.

French or a mixed orthography, which it is not probable that an Englishman or an American would, *de novo*, employ.<sup>1</sup>

It is an interesting illustration of the elusiveness of much important historical information that not one of these four destructive criticisms of Carver's *Travels* ever caught Professor Tyler's eye during his many years of reading in American literature, and that not one of them is referred to in any of the articles in the many works of reference that I have consulted on Carver. Yet it is obvious that, if Greenhow's assertions are sustained, Carver's *Travels*, whatever their literary charm, must cease to be considered an original work.

That Carver's first chapter, on the "Origin" of the Indians, is merely an abridgment of Charlevoix's "Preliminary Discourse on the Origin of the Americans", with some additions from James Adair's *The History of the American Indians*, will not be disputed by any one who compares them. As this chapter, however, is a summary of scholarly opinion, it might be urged that the most to be said is that if Carver wrote it he was too careless of the rights of literary property. But if Carver borrows his learning from Charlevoix, he was not less dependent upon him and upon La Hontan for his observations of Indian life, although he asserts with some parade:

I am able to give a more just account of the customs and manners of the Indians, in their ancient purity, than any that has been hitherto published. I have made observations on thirty nations, and though most of these have differed in their languages, there has appeared a great similarity in their manners, and from these have I endeavoured to extract the following remarks.<sup>2</sup>

These, he further notes, are such particulars as he "thought most worthy of notice, and which interfere as little as possible with the accounts given by other writers".<sup>3</sup> There is little intimation here that the writer had Charlevoix's *Journal* and La Hontan's *New Voyages to North-America*, not to say other works, almost continually on the table, not indeed to enable him to avoid repetition, but to supply many details of intimate observation. For example, our author writes of the Indians: "their eyes are large and black, and their hair of the same hue, but very rarely is it curled; they have good teeth, and their breath is as sweet as the air they draw in."<sup>4</sup> La Hontan wrote: "Their Eyes are large and black as well as their

<sup>1</sup> Henry R. Schoolcraft, *Personal Memoirs of a Residence of Thirty Years with the Indian Tribes on the American Frontiers* (Philadelphia, 1851), 168-169.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels* (1781), 222.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 223.

Hair; their Teeth are white like Ivory; and the Breath that springs from their Mouth in Expiration, is as pure as the Air that they suck in in Inspiration."<sup>1</sup>

In regard to Indian composure Carver says:

If you tell an Indian that his children have greatly signalized themselves against an enemy, have taken many scalps, and brought home many prisoners, . . . his answer generally is, "It is well," and he makes very little further enquiry about it . . . if you inform him that his children are slain or taken prisoners, he makes no complaints, he only replies, "It does not signify;" and probably, for some time at least, asks not how it happened.<sup>2</sup>

La Hontan wrote:

If you tell a Father of a Family that his Children have signalized themselves against the Enemy, and have took several Slaves, his Answer is short, *That's Good*, without any farther Enquiry. If you tell him his Children are slain, he'll say immediately, *That signifies nought*, without asking how it happen'd!<sup>3</sup>

Almost the whole of chapter xii. in Carver, on Indian marriage ceremonies, is derived from La Hontan's chapter on "The Amours and Marriages of the Savages."

Perhaps the most notable single passage in Carver's *Travels* is the funeral speech to the corpse of the Indian warrior, made famous by Schiller in what Goethe held to be one of his finest creations, the "Nadowessiers Todtenlied." This address is merely a literary elaboration of the specimen funeral address given by La Hontan.<sup>4</sup>

If we turn to the chapter on the practice of war, the obligations to Charlevoix are not less considerable. The war speech of the chief, the ceremony with the wampum belt, and the account of the care of the prisoners are drawn from his narrative.<sup>5</sup>

In illustration, the two accounts of the Indian war march are here presented in parallel columns:

CHARLEVOIX.

They pitch their camp long before sun-set, and commonly leave in the front of it a large space, inclosed with a pallisade, or rather a kind of lattice-work, on which are placed their manitous,

CARVER.

They always pitch their tents long before sun-set; and being naturally presumptuous take very little care to guard against a surprize. They place great confidence in their Manitous, or hous-

<sup>1</sup> La Hontan, *New Voyages to North-America* (London, 1735), II. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 240.

<sup>3</sup> La Hontan, *New Voyages*, II. 14.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 399-400; La Hontan, *New Voyages*, II. 53-54.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Carver's *Travels*, 299-300 and 302-303, with Charlevoix, *Journal of a Voyage to North-America* (London, 1761), I. 329 and 331. Also Carver's *Travels*, 330-331, with Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 362-363.

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turned towards that side on which their rout lies. They invoke them for the space of an hour, and the same thing is done every morning before they set out. This being done, they imagine they have nothing to fear, being persuaded that the genii take upon themselves the office of centinels, and the whole army sleeps securely under their safeguard. No experience is able to undeceive these barbarians, or to draw them out of their presumptuous confidence.<sup>1</sup>

hold gods, which they always carry with them; and being persuaded that they take upon them the office of centinels, they sleep very securely under their protection.<sup>2</sup>

Even the description of Indian acuteness in following a trail, a subject which Carver might well have been able to describe in his own language, is taken word for word from the English version of Charlevoix.

#### CHARLEVOIX.

On the smoothest grass, or the hardest earth, even on the very stones, they will discover the traces of an enemy, and by their shape and figure of the footsteps, and the distance between their prints, they will, it is said, distinguish not only different nations, but also tell whether they were men or women who have gone that way.

#### CARVER.

On the smoothest grass, on the hardest earth, and even on the very stones, will they discover the traces of an enemy, and by the shape of the footsteps, and the distance between the prints, distinguish not only whether it is a man or woman who has passed that way, but even the nation to which they belong.

Both writers are conscious that such extraordinary acuteness will seem incredible. Charlevoix remarks in support of his statement: "I was long of opinion that what I had been told of them was much exaggerated, but the uniform voices of all who have lived and conversed much with Indians, leave me no room to question the truth of them." The writer of Carver's *Travels*, reassured no doubt, follows his account with the comment: "However incredible this might appear, yet, from the many proofs I received whilst among them of their amazing sagacity in this point, I see no reason to discredit even these extraordinary exertions of it."<sup>3</sup>

So experienced a traveller as Carver might have ventured to describe the Indian sledge, the familiar toboggan, in words of his own, but instead the description is copied from Charlevoix.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 358.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 308-309.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 361; Carver's *Travels*, 327-328.

CHARLEVOIX.

Their sledges . . . are two small and very thin boards half a foot broad each, and six or seven long. The fore part is somewhat raised, and the sides bordered with small bands. . . . Let these carriages be ever so much loaded, an Indian draws it without difficulty, by means of a long thong or strap, which is pass'd round his breast, and is called a collar.<sup>1</sup>

CARVER.

Their sledges consist of two small thin boards about a foot wide when joined, and near six feet long. The fore part is turned up, and the sides are bordered with small bands. The Indians draw these carriages with great ease, be they ever so much loaded, by means of a string which passes round the breast.<sup>2</sup>

A veteran of the French and Indian war and a witness of the Fort William Henry massacre must have seen the operation of scalping many times, yet the author of Carver's *Travels* would seem to have been somewhat put to it to give an exact description of the process. He was no doubt relieved to find the following in James Adair's *History of the American Indians*:

This honourable service is thus performed—They seize the head of the disabled, or dead person, and placing one of their feet on the neck, they with one hand twisted in the hair, extend it as far as they can—with the other hand, the barbarous artists speedily draw their long sharp-pointed scalping knife out of a sheath from their breast, give a slash round the top of the skull, and with a few dexterous scoops, soon strip it off. They are so expeditious as to take off a scalp in two minutes.<sup>3</sup>

The account in Carver's *Travels* reads:

At this business they are exceedingly expert. They seize the head of the disabled or dead enemy, and placing one of their feet on the neck, twist their left hand in the hair; by this means, having extended the skin that covers the top of the head, they draw out their scalping knives, which are always kept in good order for this cruel purpose, and with a few dextrous strokes take off the part that is termed the scalp. They are so expeditious in doing this, that the whole time required scarcely exceeds a minute.<sup>4</sup>

The real Carver must have seen the Indian game of lacrosse, and if capable of writing the *Travels* would have been able to describe the game; the case would seem to have been different with the author of the *Travels*, for his description of the game is copied from Adair.

<sup>1</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 336.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 330–331.

<sup>3</sup> James Adair, *The History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), 387–388.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 328–329. Chateaubriand copied Carver's description of scalping, and lent an extra touch of realism by the added detail that the scalper deftly took off the top of the skull, leaving the brain bare, but untouched by the knife! See Bédier, *Études Critiques*, 248; Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique* (édition Pourrat, Paris, 1836), 218.

## ADAIR.

The Indians are much addicted to gaming, and will often stake every thing they possess. Ball-playing is their chief and most favourite game. . . . The ball is made of a piece of scraped deer-skin, moistened, and stuffed hard with deer's hair, and strongly sewed with deer's sinews.—The ball-sticks are about two feet long, the lower end somewhat resembling the palm of a hand, and which are worked with deer-skin thongs. . . . They are so exceedingly expert in this manly exercise, that, between the goals, the ball is mostly flying the different ways, by the force of the playing sticks, without falling to the ground, for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. It is surprising to see how swiftly they fly, when closely chased by a nimble footed pursuer; etc.<sup>1</sup>

## CARVER.

As I have before observed, the Indians are greatly addicted to gaming, and will even stake, and lose with composure, all the valuables they are possessed of . . . but the principal and most esteemed among them is that of the ball. . . . The balls they use . . . are formed of a piece of deer-skin; which being moistened to render it supple, is stuffed hard with the hair of the same creature, and sewed with its sinews. The ball-sticks are about three feet long, at the end of which there is fixed a kind of racket, resembling the palm of the hand, and fashioned of thongs cut from a deer-skin. . . . They are so exceedingly dextrous in this manly exercise, that the ball is usually kept flying in different directions by the force of the rackets, without touching the ground during the whole contention; for they are not allowed to catch it with their hands. They run with amazing velocity in pursuit of each other. Etc.<sup>2</sup>

If we turn from the manners and customs of the Indians to the animals and products of Jonathan Carver's native land, we find the same disposition to rely upon his French predecessors. The buffalo, of which he must have seen in his residence among the Sioux more than Charlevoix ever did, is described in Charlevoix's words:

## CHARLEVOIX.

The buffalo of Canada is larger than ours; his horns are short, black, and low; there is a great rough beard under the muzzle, and another tuft on the crown of the head, which falling over the eyes, give him a hideous aspect. He has on the back, a hunch or swelling, which begins over his haunches, encreasing always as it approaches his shoulders. Etc.<sup>3</sup>

## CARVER.

This beast, of which there are amazing numbers in these parts, is larger than an ox, has short black horns, with a large beard under his chin, and his head is so full of hair, that it falls over his eyes, and gives him a frightful look. There is a bunch on his back which begins at the haunches, and increasing gradually to the shoulders, reaches on to the neck. Etc.

<sup>1</sup> Adair, *History of the American Indians*, 399-400.

<sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 363-365.

<sup>3</sup> Charlevoix, *Journal*, I. 204.

<sup>4</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 445-446.



Again, the long account of the beaver is condensed from the same source; and the same is true of Carver's accounts of the moose and the caribou, the bear, the porcupine, and other animals.

After these specimens of the manner in which the writer of Carver's *Travels* drew upon different sources, we need not be surprised to discover that Carver's "A short Vocabulary of the Chipéway Language" is almost entirely copied from La Hontan's "Dictionary of the Algonkin Language." The copying, however, would seem to have been done by one ignorant of the language. For example, the word "dart" immediately follows "dance" in both lists; but Carver gives, as the equivalent of "dart", "She-shikwee", which in La Hontan is the name of a particular kind of dance. In Carver's text, however (p. 385), "Chichicoué" is a medicine-man's rattle. Again La Hontan for "hart" gives "Micheotte", which Carver gives for "heart". In regard to the structure of the language Carver is equally beholden to La Hontan's account of the Algonkin:

LA HONTAN.

The *Algonkin* Language has neither *Tone* nor *Accent*, nor superfluous dead Letters; so that 'tis as easy to pronounce it as to write it. 'Tis not copious, no more than the other Languages of *America*.<sup>1</sup>

CARVER.

The Chipéway tongue is not incumbered with any unnecessary tones or accents, neither are there any words in it that are superfluous; it is also easy to pronounce, and much more copious than any other Indian language.<sup>2</sup>

The writer of Carver's *Travels* apparently thought it safe enough to give an Algonquin vocabulary for one of the "Chipéway" language; for he regards the two names as interchangeable, using the phrase, "the Chipéways or Algonkins" (p. 414).<sup>3</sup>

The examples that have been given, a few out of many that might be cited, are sufficient to show that the allegations of Greenhow and the conjectures of Wolcott and Schoolcraft were fully justified, and that the second part of Carver's *Travels* is essentially a compilation from La Hontan, Charlevoix, Adair, and other sources which I have not yet identified. That a traveller should borrow some descriptions from preceding travellers does not necessarily discredit his book, but in this case the borrowings are so extensive and

<sup>1</sup> La Hontan, *New Voyages*, II. 290.    <sup>2</sup> Carver's *Travels*, 416.

<sup>3</sup> The Chippewa belongs to the Algonquin linguistic stock, but in Carver's time Algonquin and Chippewa were names of languages apparently as different as Dutch and German. See the parallel column vocabularies in *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader*, by J. Long (London, 1791), 196 et seqq.

of such a character that one cannot help suspecting that nearly everything was borrowed.

Turning now to the first part or the narrative proper of Carver's *Travels*, is it a genuine record of experience and did he write it, or was it written by another from his memoranda or oral recollections? So far as I can judge by literary evidence, I should reply that Carver was the source rather than the author of the narrative. The style of the first part is fluent literary English, and apparently is from the same hand as the descriptive matter in the second part. To pronounce upon the worth of this part of the book first-hand intimate knowledge of the field of observation is required. This qualification William H. Keating, the scholarly and painstaking geologist and historian of Long's expedition to the source of St. Peter's River in 1823, possessed in a high degree. The members of Long's expedition naturally gave Carver's account a more critical scrutiny under more favorable conditions than has been the case since or is likely to be in the future.<sup>1</sup> Their general judgment is unfavorable. In general it is remarked: "No gentleman of the party would be willing to ascribe to Carver a scrupulous adherence to truth, (personal observation having convinced them all of the many misrepresentations contained in his work.)"<sup>2</sup> Again, Hennepin estimated the height of the Falls of St. Anthony at fifty or sixty feet.

This height is, by Carver, reduced to about thirty feet; his strictures upon Hennepin, whom he taxes with exaggeration, might with great propriety be retorted upon him, and we feel strongly inclined to say of him, as he said of his predecessor, "the good father, I fear, too often had no other foundation for his accounts than report, or at least a slight inspection."<sup>3</sup>

In regard to the St. Peter's River and to the customs of the Sioux Indians, as to which Carver is still referred to as an important authority,<sup>4</sup> the following comments are selected:

Carver is the only traveller who states that he visited this river, merely from motives of curiosity; but a close perusal of his book, has satisfied us that he professes too much. He asserts that he "proceeded upon the river about two hundred miles, to the country of the Naudowessies of the plains, which lies a little above the forks formed by the Verd and Red Marble rivers." He states that he resided five months

<sup>1</sup> The late Dr. Elliott Coues in the notes to his *The Expeditions of Zebulon Montgomery Pike* (New York, 1895) repeatedly quotes Carver and expresses a favorable opinion of his narrative. He does not refer, however, to part II.

<sup>2</sup> Keating, *Long's Expedition* (Philadelphia, 1824), I. 277.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 297-298. The actual height as measured by Pike and by Long was sixteen and one-half feet.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the bibliography to Livingston Farrand, *Basis of American History* (New York, 1904), 282-283.

among the Naudowessies, and that he acquired their language perfectly. We are inclined to doubt this; we believe that he ascended the Mississippi to the Falls of St. Anthony, that he saw the St. Peter, and that he may even perhaps have entered it; but had he resided five months in the country, and become acquainted with their language, it is not probable that he would have uniformly applied to them the term of Naudowessies, and omitted calling them the Dakota Indians, as they style themselves. . . . In his account of the river St. Peter, Carver attributes to it a breadth of nearly one hundred yards for two hundred miles, whereas at the distance of one hundred and thirty miles it was but seventy yards wide, and was found to be rapidly diminishing in size. He also ascribes to it "a great depth," which is not the case at any distance above its mouth.

. . . It is scarcely possible that if Carver had ascended the St. Peter two hundred miles, he would have reported without contradicting them, the exaggerated accounts of the great extent of this river, or attributed to it a rise near the Shining, (Rocky,) Mountains; but besides these inaccuracies, some of which may perhaps be partly accounted for by his having seen the river at a time when it was unusually high, and when a mere brook may have been so much swollen as to be mistaken for a small branch of the river, yet we cannot place any confidence in him on account of the many misrepresentations contained in his work. Almost all that he relates as peculiar to the Naudowessies, is found to apply to the Sauks, or some other nation of Algonquin origin. Thus on reading to Renville, Dickson, (the son of the late Colonel Dickson,) and to several other of the half-Indian interpreters whom we saw on the St. Peter, that part of chapter 12th of his work, in which he relates that "the Naudowessies have a singular method of celebrating their marriages which seems to bear no resemblance to those made use of by any other nations that he passed through," these men all exclaimed that it was fabulous, that such a practice had never prevailed among any of the Dakotas, though they believed it to be in use with some of the Algonquin tribes. The practice of having a *totem* or family distinction, exists, as we have already stated, among the Sauks, etc. but it is quite unknown to the Sioux, to whom it is attributed by this writer. It is, we believe, clearly proved at present, that the land which he claimed by virtue of a grant from the Indians, was never conveyed to him by them. . . . When chapter 5th of Carver's work [on Indian government] was read to Renville and the other men, they denied the truth of its contents; but immediately recollected the designs of a snake and a tortoise, which were affixed to the treaty, no doubt to make it tally with the account of their family distinctions contained in that chapter of his travels. His vocabulary appears certainly to have been taken from the Dakota language; it may have been obtained from the Indians along the banks of the Mississippi, but was more probably copied from some former traveller, for a reference to old works will prove that Carver derived much of his information from them, though no credit is given to their authors for it.<sup>1</sup>

It is clear from the evidence here presented that the *Travels* of Jonathan Carver can no longer be ranked as an authentic record of the observations of the supposed author. Schoolcraft's con-

<sup>1</sup> Keating, *Long's Expedition*, I. 323-325.

jectures as to the origin of the book, supported as they are by Wolcott's early testimony, probably give us the substantial facts. I may venture the conjecture that in its present form the *Travels* are the work of the editor, Dr. John Coakley Lettsoni, who was a voluminous and facile writer and the charitable friend of Carver. A comparison of the style of the *Travels* with Dr. Lettsoni's other works might settle the question, but they have not been accessible to me. This conjecture is in some measure supported by the following from Nichols's contemporary sketch of Lettsoni:

To the publications before mentioned may be added, the *Travels* of the unfortunate Captain Carver, of which Dr. Lettsoni was not only the Editor, and wrote the *Life*, but was at the expence of the publication, the benefits of which he appropriated to the amiable afflicted widow and fatherless offspring of that brave Officer; supplying the forlorn family, besides this, with the means of every comfort that humanity and friendship could administer, not only till the profits of the book could come round, but as long after as was necessary to their accommodation.<sup>1</sup>

If my conjecture should be shown to be a fact, we should have a curious instance of vicarious plagiarism producing a greater literary reputation for the supposed author than the real author acquired by his other works or was attained by any of the works from which he drew his material. In any case, Carver's *Travels* must now take its place in literary history beside Benzoni's *History of the New World* and *The Book of Sir John Mandeville*.<sup>2</sup>

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

<sup>1</sup> John Nichols, *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1817), II. 680.

<sup>2</sup> On Benzoni's *History of the New World*, cf. Marco Allegri's critique in the *Raccolta Colombiana* (Rome, 1892-1896), pt. 5, vol. 3, 137-154, summarized by the writer in Larned, *Literature of American History*, no. 763. On Sir John Mandeville, the article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* gives the essentials.

## THE COLONIZATION OF THE WEST, 1820-1830

THE rise of the new West<sup>1</sup> was the most significant fact in American history in the years immediately following the War of 1812. Ever since the beginnings of settlement on the Atlantic coast a frontier of settlement had advanced, cutting into the forest, pushing back the Indian, and steadily widening the area of settlement and civilization in its rear.<sup>2</sup> There had been a West even in early colonial days; but then it lay close to the coast. By the middle of the eighteenth century the West was to be found beyond tide-water, passing toward the Allegheny mountains. When this barrier was crossed and the lands on the other side of the mountains were won, in the days of the Revolution, a new and greater West, more influential on the nation's destiny, was created. The men of the "Western Waters" or the "Western World", as they loved to call themselves, developed under conditions of separation from the older settlements and from Europe. The lands, practically free, in this vast area not only attracted the settler, but furnished opportunity for all men to hew out their own careers. The wilderness ever opened a gate of escape to the poor, the discontented, and the oppressed. If social conditions tended to crystallize in the East, beyond the Alleghenies there was freedom. Grappling with new problems, under these conditions, the society that spread into this region developed inventiveness and resourcefulness; the restraints of custom were broken, and new activities, new lines of growth, new institutions were produced. Mr. Bryce has well declared<sup>3</sup> that "the West is the most American part of America. . . . What Europe is to Asia, what England is to the rest of Europe, what America is to England, that the Western States and Territories are to the Atlantic States." The American spirit—the traits that have come to be recognized as the most characteristic—was developed in the new

<sup>1</sup> This paper deals with conditions explanatory of western action, not with events. For a fuller view, see the author's *Rise of the New West*, in the American Nation Series (In press).

<sup>2</sup> F. J. Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, pp. 199-227, also in *Fifth Yearbook of National Herbart Society*; *id.*, "Problem of the West," in *Atlantic Monthly*, LXXVIII. 289.

<sup>3</sup> *American Commonwealth* (ed. 1895), II. 830.

commonwealths that sprang into life beyond the seaboard. In these new western lands Americans achieved a boldness of conception of the country's destiny, and democracy. The ideal of the West was its emphasis upon the worth and possibilities of the common man, its belief in the right of every man to rise to the full measure of his own nature, under conditions of social mobility. Western democracy was no theorist's dream. It came, stark and strong and full of life, from the American forest.<sup>1</sup>

The time had now come when this section was to make itself felt as a dominant force in American life. Already it had shown its influence upon the older sections. By its competition, by its attractions for settlers, it reacted on the East and gave added impulse to the democratic movement in New England and New York. The struggle of Baltimore, New York City, and Philadelphia for the rising commerce of the interior was a potent factor in the development of the Middle Region. In the South the spread of the cotton-plant and the new form which slavery took were phases of the westward movement of the plantation. The discontent of the Old South is explained by the migration of her citizens to the West and by the competition of her colonists in the lands beyond the Alleghenies. The future of the South lay in its affiliation to the Cotton Kingdom of the lower states which were rising on the plains of the Gulf of Mexico.

Rightly to understand the power which the new West was to exert upon the economic and political life of the nation in the years between 1820 and 1830, it is necessary to consider somewhat fully the statistics of growth in western population and industry.

The western states ranked with the Middle Region and the South in respect to population. Between 1812 and 1821 six new western commonwealths were added to the Union: Louisiana (1812), Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), Alabama (1819), and Missouri (1821). By 1830, the trans-Allegheny states had an aggregate population of over 3,600,000, representing a gain of nearly a million and half in the decade. The percentages of increase in these new communities tell a striking story. Even the older sisters of the western group, like Kentucky, with twenty-two per cent., Louisiana, with forty-one, and Tennessee and Ohio, each with sixty-one, showed a sharp contrast with the seaboard states, outside of Georgia and Maine. But for the newer communities the percentages of gain are still more significant. The figures are as follows: Indiana, 133 per cent., Illinois, 185, Alabama, 142, and

<sup>1</sup>F. J. Turner, "Contributions of the West to American Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, XCI. 83; *id.*, "The Middle West," *International Monthly*, IV. 794.

Mississippi, 81. Ohio, which, hardly more than a generation before, was "fresh, untouched, unbounded, magnificent wilderness";<sup>1</sup> now had a population of nearly a million, surpassing the combined population of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

A new section had arisen and was growing at such a rate that a description of it in any single year would be falsified before it could be published. Nor is the whole strength of the western element revealed by these figures for the western states. In order to estimate the weight of the western population in 1830, we must add six hundred thousand souls in the western half of New York, three hundred thousand in the interior counties of Pennsylvania, and over two hundred thousand in the trans-Allegheny counties of Virginia, more than a million, making an aggregate of 4,600,000. Fully to reckon the forces of backwoods democracy, moreover, we should include a large fraction of the interior population of Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont, North Carolina, and Georgia, and northern New York. All of these regions were to be influenced by the ideals of democratic rule which were springing up in the Mississippi valley.

In voting power the western states were even more important than the figures for population indicate. Not to speak of the representatives from the interior counties of the older states, who were also likely to be responsive to Western measures, the West itself had, under the apportionment of 1822, forty-seven out of the two hundred and thirteen members of the House of Representatives, while in the Senate its representation was eighteen out of forty-eight—more than that of any other section. Clearly, here was a region to be reckoned with. Its economic interests, its ideals, and its political leaders were certain to have a powerful, if not a controlling, voice in the councils of the nation.

At the close of the War of 1812 the West had much homogeneity. Parts of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Ohio had been settled so many years that they no longer presented typical western conditions; but, for the most part, the West then was occupied by pioneer farmers, hunting and raising stock for a living, with but a small surplus demanding a market. By the close of the period, however, industrial differentiation between the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi valley had become clearly marked. The Northwest was changing to a land of farmers and town-builders, anxious for a market for their grain and cattle; while the Southwest was becoming increasingly a cotton-raising section, swayed by the same

<sup>1</sup> See Webster's picture of Ohio in 1794, in his debate on Foot's Resolution, January 20, 1830, in his *Writings and Speeches*, V. 252.

impulses in respect to staple exports as those which governed the southern seaboard. Economically, the northern portion of the valley tended to connect itself with the Middle Region, while the southern portion came into increasingly intimate connection with the South. Nevertheless, it would be a radical mistake not to deal with the West as a separate region. With all these differences within itself, the West had a fundamental unity in its social structure and its democratic ideals, and at times its separate existence was revealed in no uncertain way.

The history of the occupation of the Mississippi valley is the history of the colonization of a region far surpassing in area the territory of the old thirteen states. The explanation of this movement into the interior is a simple one. It was, indeed, but the continuation of the advance of the frontier which had begun in the earliest days of American colonization. The existence of a great body of land, offered at so low a price as to be practically free, inevitably drew population toward the West. When wild lands sold for two dollars an acre, and, indeed, could be occupied by squatters almost without molestation, it was certain that settlers would seek them instead of paying twenty to fifty dollars an acre for farms that lay not much farther to the east—particularly when the western lands were more fertile. The introduction of the steamboat on the western waters in 1811, moreover, had revolutionized transportation conditions in the West.<sup>1</sup> At the beginning of the period of which we are treating, steamers were ascending the Mississippi and the Missouri, as well as the Ohio and its tributaries. By 1820 there were sixty steamboats on the Mississippi and Ohio; ten years later there were over two hundred and thirty. This explains some of the extension of settlement, for it was now possible to carry supplies up the river-courses and to secure a better outlet for agricultural products. Between the close of the War of 1812 and 1830, also, the Indian title was extinguished to vast regions in the West. Half of Michigan was opened to settlement; the northwestern quarter of Ohio was freed; in Indiana and Illinois (more than half of which had been Indian country prior to 1816) all but a comparatively small region of undesired prairie lands south of Lake Michigan was gained; almost the whole state of Missouri was freed from its Indian title; and, in the Gulf Region, at the close of the decade,

<sup>1</sup> James Flint, *Letters*, 260; Monette, in *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VII. 503; Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 236, 247; Lloyd, *Steamboat Disasters* (1853), 32, 40-45; Preble, *Steam Navigation*, 64; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 402; Chittenden, *Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri*, ch. ix.



the Indians held but two isolated islands of territory, in western Georgia and eastern Alabama and in northern and central Mississippi. These ceded regions were the fruit of the victories of William Henry Harrison in the Northwest, and of Andrew Jackson in the Gulf Region.<sup>1</sup> They were, in effect, conquered provinces, now open to colonization.

The maps of the United States census, giving the distribution of population in 1810, 1820, and 1830,<sup>2</sup> exhibit clearly the effects of the defeat of the Indians, and show the areas that were occupied in these years. In 1810 settlement beyond the mountains was almost limited to a zone along the Ohio River and its tributaries, the Cumberland and the Tennessee. North of the Ohio, in the state of that name, settlement extended along half the southern shore of Lake Erie, and was pushing toward the central portion of the state. This population also crossed to the eastern edge of Indiana, and a line of pioneers had spread up the Wabash to the French village at Vincennes. With these exceptions, the northern bank of the Ohio was hardly touched by settlement. Illinois was also unoccupied, save where the settlers had come to the American Bottoms, in the vicinity of the former French settlements across from St. Louis. Population also spread west of the Mississippi, with St. Louis as its nucleus; and at Detroit there was the ancient French town. The rest of the Northwest was practically Indian country. In the Southwest, the vicinity of Mobile showed sparse settlement, chiefly survivals of the Spanish and English occupation; and, along the fluvial lands of the eastern bank of the lower Mississippi, in the Natchez region, as well as in the old province of Louisiana, there was a considerable area occupied by planters.

By 1820 the effects of the War of 1812 and the rising tide of westward migration became manifest. Pioneer settlement spread along the river-courses of the Northwest well up to the Indian boundary. The zone of settlement along the Ohio had ascended the Missouri, in the rush to the Boone's Lick country, toward the centre of the present state. From the settlements of middle Tennessee a pioneer farming area reached southward to connect with the settlements of Mobile, and the latter became conterminous with those of the lower Mississippi. Almost all of the most recently occupied area was but thinly settled. It represented the movement of the backwoodsman, with ax and rifle, advancing to the conquest of the forest. But closer to the old settlements a more highly developed

<sup>1</sup> See maps in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Statistical Atlas*, Twelfth Census, 1900, plates 4, 5, and 6.

agriculture was to be seen. Hodgson in 1821<sup>1</sup> describes plantations in northern Alabama in lands ceded by the Indians in 1818. Though settled less than two years, there were within a few miles five schools and four places of worship. One plantation had one hundred acres in cotton and one hundred and ten in corn, although a year and a half before then it was wilderness.

By 1830 large portions of the Indian lands, which had been ceded between 1817 and 1829, were settled by a repetition of the same type of colonization. The unoccupied lands in Indiana and Illinois were prairie country, then deemed unsuited for settlement because of the lack of wood and drinking-water. It was the hardwoods that had been taken up in the Northwest, and, for the most part, the tracts a little back from the unhealthful bottom-lands, but in close proximity to the rivers, which were the only means of transportation before the building of good roads. A new island of settlement had appeared in the northwestern portion of Illinois and the adjacent regions of Wisconsin and Iowa, due to the opening of the lead-mines. Along the Missouri valley and in the Gulf Region the areas possessed in 1820 had increased in density of population. Georgia had spread her settlers into the Indian lands, which she had so recently secured by threatening a rupture with the United States; but there still remained in the Gulf Region two great areas of Indian country, surrounded by these white settlements. This incongruous Indian element was to be swept away by the presidency of Andrew Jackson.

Translated into terms of human activity, these shaded areas, encroaching on the blank spaces of the map, meant much for the history of the United States. In the main they represent the migration of Southern people. New England, after the distress following the War of 1812 and the hard winter of 1816-1817, had sent many settlers into western New York and Ohio; the Western Reserve had increased in population by the immigration of Connecticut people; Pennsylvania and New Jersey had sent colonists to southern and central Ohio, with Cincinnati as the commercial centre. In Ohio the settlers of Middle State origin were decidedly more numerous than those from the South; and New England's share was distinctly smaller than that of the South. In the Ohio legislature in 1822 there were thirty-eight of Middle State birth, thirty-three of Southern (including Kentucky), and twenty-five of New England. But Kentucky and Tennessee (now sufficiently settled to need larger and cheaper farms for the rising generation), together with the

<sup>1</sup> *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), I. 269; Riley (editor), "Autobiography of Linneecum," *Mississippi Historical Society Publications*, VIII. 443.

up-country of the South, contributed the mass of the pioneer colonists to most of the Mississippi valley prior to 1830.<sup>1</sup> Of course a large fraction of these came from the Scotch-Irish and German stock that in the first half of the eighteenth century passed from Pennsylvania along the Great Valley to the up-country of the South. Indiana, so late as 1850, showed but ten thousand natives of New England; and twice as many persons of Southern as of Middle State origin. In the early history of Indiana, North Carolina contributed a large fraction of the population, giving to it its "Hoosier" as well as much of its Quaker stock. Illinois in this period had but a sprinkling of New-Englanders, engaged in business in the little towns. The Southern stock, including settlers from Kentucky and Tennessee, was the preponderant class. The Illinois legislature for 1833 contained fifty-eight from the South (including Kentucky and Tennessee), nineteen from the Middle States, and only four from New England. Missouri's population was chiefly Kentuckians and Tennesseans.

The leaders of this Southern element came, in considerable measure, from well-to-do classes, who migrated to improve their conditions in the freer opportunities of a new country. Land speculation, the opportunity of political preferment, and the advantages which these growing communities brought to practitioners of the law combined to attract men of this class. Many of them, as we shall see, brought their slaves with them, under the systems of indenture which made this possible. Missouri, especially, was sought by the larger planters with their slaves. But it was the poorer whites, the more democratic, non-slaveholding element of the South, which furnished the great bulk of settlers north of the Ohio. Prior to the close of the decade the same farmer type was in possession of large parts of the Gulf Region; but here, through the whole of our period, the slaveholding planters came in increasing numbers.

Two of the families which left Kentucky for the newer country in these years will illustrate the movement. The Lincoln family<sup>2</sup> had reached that state by migration from the North with the stream of backwoodsmen which bore along with it the Calhouns and the Boones. Abraham Lincoln was born in a hilly, barren portion of

<sup>1</sup> This conclusion is based on a study of local history, travels, and newspapers, as well as upon the statistical evidence furnished by the tables of the Census of 1850 showing nativity, and by the evidence of the nativities of members of the state legislatures in the period 1820-1830. See, for Ohio, *Niles' Register*, XXI. 368 (legislature of 1822), and *National Republican*, January 2, 1824; for Illinois in 1833, *Western Monthly Magazine*, I. 199; for Missouri convention of 1820, *Niles' Register*, XVIII. 400; for Alabama in 1820, *ibid.*, XX. 64.

<sup>2</sup> Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, I., chaps. 1.-iv.; Herndon, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. 1.-iv.; Nicolay and Hay, *Lincoln*, I., chaps. 1.-iii.

Kentucky in 1809. In 1816, when Lincoln was a boy of seven, his father, a poor carpenter, took his family across the Ohio on a raft, with a capital consisting of his kit of tools and several hundred gallons of whisky. In Indiana he hewed a path into the forest to a new home in the southern part of the state, where for a year the family lived in a "half-faced camp", or open shed of poles, clearing their land. In the hardships of the pioneer life Lincoln's mother died, as did many another frontier woman. By 1830 Lincoln had become a tall, strapping youth, six feet four inches in height, able to sink his ax deeper than other men into the opposing forest. At that time his father moved to the Sangamon country of Illinois with the rush of land-seekers into that new and popular region. Near the home of Lincoln in Kentucky was born, in 1808, Jefferson Davis,<sup>1</sup> whose father, shortly before the War of 1812, went with the stream of southward movers to Louisiana and then to Mississippi. Davis's brothers fought under Jackson in the War of 1812, and the family became typical planters of the Gulf Region.

Meanwhile, the roads that led to the Ohio valley were followed by an increasing tide of settlers from the East. "Old America seems to be breaking up, and moving westward", wrote Birkbeck in 1817, as he passed on the National Road through Pennsylvania.

We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups, behind and before us. . . . A small waggon (so light that you might almost carry it, yet strong enough to bear a good load of bedding, utensils and provisions, and a swarm of young citizens,—and to sustain marvellous shocks in its passage over these rocky heights) with two small horses; sometimes a cow or two, comprises their all; excepting a little store of hard-earned cash for the land office of the district; where they may obtain a title for as many acres as they possess half-dollars, being one fourth of the purchase-money. The waggon has a tilt, or cover, made of a sheet, or perhaps a blanket. The family are seen before, behind, or within the vehicle, according to the road or the weather, or perhaps the spirits of the party. . . . A cart and single horse frequently affords the means of transfer, sometimes a horse and pack-saddle. Often the back of the poor pilgrim bears all his effects and his wife follows, naked-footed, bending under the hopes of the family.<sup>2</sup>

McLean of Ohio said in the House of Representatives in 1825:

In a favorable season for emigration, the traveller upon this highway will scarcely lose sight of passengers, of some description. Hundreds of families are seen migrating to the West, with ease and comfort. Drovers from the West, with their cattle, of almost every description, are seen passing eastward, seeking a market on this side of the mountains. In-

<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Davis, *Jefferson Davis*, I. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Morris Birkbeck, *Notes on a Journey from Virginia to Illinois* (London, 1818), 25-26.

deed, this road may be compared to a great street, or thoroughfare, through some populous city—travellers on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, are seen mingling on its paved surface.<sup>1</sup>

The Southerners who came by land along the many bad roads through Tennessee and Kentucky usually traveled with heavy, schooner-shaped wagons, drawn by four or six horses.<sup>2</sup> These family groups, crowding roads and fords, marching toward the sunset, with the canvas-covered wagon, ancestor of the prairie-schooner of the later times, were typical of the overland migration. The poorer classes traveled on foot, sometimes carrying their entire effects in a cart drawn by themselves.<sup>3</sup> Those of more means took horses, cattle, and sheep, and sometimes sent their household goods by wagon or by steamboat up the Mississippi.<sup>4</sup>

The routes of travel to the western country were numerous. Prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, the New England element either passed along the Mohawk and the Genesee turnpike to Lake Erie; or crossed the Hudson and followed the line of the Catskill turnpike to the headwaters of the Allegheny; or, by way of Boston, took ship to New York, Philadelphia, or Baltimore, in order to follow a more southerly route. In Pennsylvania the principal route was the old road which, in a general way, followed the line that Forbes had cut in the French and Indian War from Philadelphia to Pittsburg by way of Lancaster and Bedford. By this time the road had been made a turnpike through a large portion of its course. From Baltimore the traveller followed a turnpike to Cumberland, on the Potomac, where began the Old National Road across the mountains to Wheeling on the Ohio, with branches leading to Pittsburg. This became one of the great arteries of western migration and commerce, connecting, as it did, at its eastern end, with the Shenandoah valley, and thus affording access to the Ohio for large areas of Virginia. Other routes lay through the passes into West Virginia, easily reached from the divide between the waters of North Carolina and of West Virginia. Saluda Gap, in northwestern South Carolina, led the way to the great valley of eastern Tennessee. In Tennessee and Kentucky many routes passed to the Ohio in the region of Cincinnati or Louisville.

<sup>1</sup> *Abridgment of Debates*, VIII. 253

<sup>2</sup> *History of Grundy County, Illinois*, 149; *Early History of Sangamon County, Illinois*.

<sup>3</sup> *Niles' Register*, XXI. 320.

<sup>4</sup> W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio, 1813-1840*, 86; Jones, *Illinois and the West*, 31; *History of Grundy County, Illinois*, 149; *Early History of Sangamon County, Illinois*, 13.

When the settler arrived at the waters of the Ohio, he either took a steamboat, or placed his possessions on a flatboat, or ark, and floated down the river to his destination. From the upper waters of the Allegheny many emigrants took advantage of the lumber-rafts, which were constructed from the pine forests of southwestern New York, to float, with themselves and their belongings, to the Ohio. With the advent of the steamboat these older modes of navigation were, to a considerable extent, superseded. But navigation on the Great Lakes had not sufficiently advanced by the end of the decade to afford opportunity for any considerable movement of settlement, by this route, beyond Lake Erie.

In the course of the decade the cost of reaching the West varied greatly with the decrease in the transportation rates brought about by the competition of the Erie Canal, the improvement of the turn-pikes, and the development of steamboat navigation. The expense of the long overland journey from New England, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, made it extremely difficult for those without any capital to reach the West. The stage rates on the Pennsylvania turnpike and the Old National Road, prior to the opening of the Erie Canal, were about five or six dollars a hundredweight from Philadelphia or Baltimore to the Ohio River; the individual was regarded as so much freight.<sup>1</sup> To most of the movers, who drove their own teams and camped by the wayside, however, the actual expense was simply that of providing food for themselves and their horses on the road. The cost of moving by land is illustrated by the case of a Maryland family, consisting of fifteen persons, of whom five were slaves. In 1835 they traveled about twenty miles a day, with a four-horse wagon, three hundred miles, to Wheeling, at an expense of seventy-five dollars.<sup>2</sup> The expense of traveling by stage and steamboat from Philadelphia to St. Louis at the close of the decade was about fifty-five dollars for one person. By steamboat from New Orleans to St. Louis cost thirty dollars, including food and lodging; for deck-passage, without food or lodging, the charge was only eight dollars.<sup>3</sup> In 1823 the cost of passage from Cincinnati to New Orleans by steamboat, taking about eight days, was twenty-five dollars; from New Orleans to Cincinnati (sixteen days) fifty dollars.<sup>4</sup> In the early thirties one could go from New Orleans to Pittsburg, as cabin passenger, for from thirty-five to forty-five dollars.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Evans, *Pedestrian Tour*, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Niles' Register*, XLVIII. 242.

<sup>3</sup> *Illinois Monthly Magazine*, II. 53.

<sup>4</sup> *Niles' Register*, XXV. 95.

<sup>5</sup> *Emigrants' and Travellers' Guide through the Valley of the Mississippi*, 341.

Arrived at the nearest point to his destination on the Ohio, the emigrant either cut out a road to his new home, or pushed up some tributary of that river in a keel-boat. If he was one of the poorer classes, he became a squatter on the public lands, trusting to find in the profits of his farming the means of paying for his land. Not uncommonly, after clearing the land, he sold his improvements to the actual purchaser, under the customary usage, or by pre-emption laws.<sup>1</sup> With the money thus secured he would purchase new land in a remoter area, and thus establish himself as an independent land-owner. Under the credit system<sup>2</sup> which existed at the opening of the period, the settler purchased his land at two dollars per acre, by a cash payment of fifty cents and the rest in instalments running over a period of four years; but by the new law of 1820 the settler was permitted to buy a tract of eighty acres from the government at a minimum price of a dollar and a quarter per acre, without credit. The price of labor in the towns along the Ohio, coupled with the low cost of provisions, made it possible for even a poor day-laborer from the East to accumulate the necessary amount to make his land-purchase.<sup>3</sup>

Having in this way settled down either as a squatter or as a landowner, the pioneer proceeded to hew out a clearing in the midst of the forest.<sup>4</sup> Commonly he had selected his lands with reference to the value of the soil, as indicated by the character of the hardwoods, but this meant that the labor of clearing was the more severe. Under the sturdy strokes of his ax the light of day was let into the little circle of cleared ground.<sup>5</sup> With the aid of his neighbors, called together under the social attractions of a "raising", with its inevitable accompaniment of whisky and a "frolic", he erected his log-cabin. If he was too remote from neighbors or too poor to afford a cabin, as in the case of Lincoln's father, a rude half-faced camp served the purpose for the first months of his occupation. "America", wrote Birkbeck, "was bred in a cabin."

Having secured a foothold, the settler next proceeded to "girdle" or "deaden" an additional forest area, preparatory to his farming operations. This consisted in cutting a ring through the bark around the lower portion of the trunk, to prevent the sap

<sup>1</sup> Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 180; Kingdom, *America*, 56; J. M. Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants to the West* (1837), 119-132.

<sup>2</sup> Emerick, *The Credit System and the Public Domain* (Vanderbilt Southern History Society, Publication no. 3).

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Peck, *New Guide for Emigrants to the West*, 107-134; Bradbury, *Travels* (London, 1817), 296.

<sup>4</sup> Kingdom, *America*, 10, 54, 63; J. Flint, *Letters*, 206; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 152-155; W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 98, 101, 145. *Notes on Journey*, 94.



from rising. In a short time the withered branches were ready for burning, and in the midst of the blackened stumps the first crop of corn and vegetables was planted.<sup>1</sup>

In regions nearer to the East, as in western New York, it was sometimes possible to repay a large portion of the cost of clearing by the sale of pot and pearl ashes extracted from the logs, which were brought together for burning into huge piles.<sup>2</sup> This was accomplished by a "log-rolling", under the united efforts of the neighbors, as in the case of the raising. More commonly in the West the logs were wasted by burning, except such as were split into rails, which, laid one above another, made the zigzag "worm-fences" for the protection of the fields of the pioneer.

When a clearing was sold to a later comer, fifty or sixty dollars in addition to the government price of land was commonly charged for forty acres, inclosed and partly cleared.<sup>3</sup> It was estimated that the cost of a farm of three hundred and twenty acres at the edge of the prairie in Illinois, at this time, would be divided as follows: for one hundred acres of prairie, two hundred dollars; for fencing a forty-acre field with rail-fence, one hundred and sixty dollars; for breaking it up with a plow, two dollars per acre, or three hundred and twenty dollars; eighty acres of timber land and eighty acres of pasture prairie, two hundred dollars. Thus it cost a little over a thousand dollars to secure an improved farm of three hundred and twenty acres. But the mass of the early settlers were too poor to afford such an outlay, and were either squatters within a little clearing, or owners of eighty acres, which they hoped to increase by subsequent purchase. Since they worked with the labor of their own hands and that of their sons, the cash outlay was practically limited to the original cost of the lands and articles of husbandry. A competent authority<sup>4</sup> estimated the cost of an Indiana farm of eighty acres of land, with two horses, two or three cows, a few hogs and sheep, and farming utensils, at about four hundred dollars.

The peculiar skill required of the axman who entered the hardwood forests, together with readiness to undergo the privations of the life, made the backwoodsman in a sense an expert engaged in a special calling.<sup>5</sup> Frequently he was the descendant of generations

<sup>1</sup> Often the settler did not even burn the girdled trees, but planted his crop under the dead foliage. J. Flint, *Letters from America* (Edinburgh, 1822), 207.

<sup>2</sup> *Life of Thurlow Weed* (Autobiography), I. 11.

<sup>3</sup> *Kingdom, America*. 10, 54.

<sup>4</sup> Tanner (publisher), *Guide*.

<sup>5</sup> J. Hall, *Statistics of the West*, 101; cf. Chastellux, *Travels in North America* (London, 1787), I. 44.



of pioneers, who, on successive frontiers, from the neighborhood of the Atlantic coast toward the interior, had cut and burned the forest, fought the Indians, and pushed forward the line of civilization. He bore the marks of the struggle in his face, made sallow by living in the shade of the forest, "shut from the common air";<sup>1</sup> and in a constitution often racked by malarial fever. Dirt and squalor were too frequently found in the squatter's cabin,<sup>2</sup> and education and the refinements of life were denied to him. Often shiftless and indolent, in the intervals between his tasks of forest-felling he was fonder of hunting than of a settled agricultural life. With his rifle he eked out his sustenance, and the peltries furnished him a little ready cash.<sup>3</sup> His few cattle grazed in the surrounding forest and his hogs fed on its mast.

The backwoodsman of this type represented the outer edge of the advance of civilization. Where settlement was closer, co-operative activity possible, and little villages, with the mill and retail stores, existed, conditions of life were ameliorated, and a better type of pioneer was found. Into such regions circuit-riders and wandering preachers had carried the beginnings of church organization, and schools were started. But the frontiersmen proper constituted a moving class, ever ready to sell out their clearings in order to press on to a new frontier, where game more abounded, soil was reported to be better, and where the forest furnished a welcome retreat from the uncongenial encroachments of civilization. If, however, he was thrifty and forehanded, the backwoodsman remained on his clearing, improving his farm and sharing in the change from wilderness life.

Behind the type of the backwoodsman came the type of the pioneer farmer. Equipped with a little capital, he often, as we have seen, purchased the clearing, and thus avoided some of the initial hardships of pioneer life. In the course of a few years, as sawmills were erected, frame-houses took the place of the log-cabins; the rough clearing, with its stumps, gave way to well-tilled fields; orchards were planted; livestock roamed over the enlarged clearing; and an agricultural surplus was ready for export. Soon the adventurous speculator offered corner lots in a new town-site, and the rude beginnings of a city were seen.<sup>4</sup>

Thus western occupation advanced in a series of waves:<sup>5</sup> the In-

<sup>1</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey* (London, 1818), 105-114.

<sup>2</sup> R. Babcock, *Forty Years of Pioneer Life* ("Journals and Correspondence of J. M. Peck"), 101.

<sup>3</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 51.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 90, 91.

<sup>5</sup> See the excellent descriptions of the frontiersmen and their successors in J. M. Peck, *New Guide to the West* (Cincinnati, 1848), chap. iv., and T. Flint,

dian was sought by the fur-trader; the fur-trader was followed by the frontiersman, whose cattle exploited the natural grasses and the acorns of the forest; next came the wave of primitive agriculture, followed by more intensive farming and city life. All the stages of social development went on under the eye of the traveller as he passed from the frontier toward the East. Such was the process which was steadily pushing its way into the American wilderness, as it had for generations.

While thus the frontier folk spread north of the Ohio and up the Missouri, a different movement was in progress in the Gulf Region. In the beginning precisely the same type of occupation was to be seen. The poorer classes of Southern emigrants cut out their clearings along rivers that flowed to the Gulf and to the lower Mississippi, and, with the opening of this decade, went in increasing numbers into Texas, where enterprising Americans had secured concessions from the Mexican government.<sup>1</sup> But while this movement of log-cabin pioneers was entering the Gulf Plains, caravans of slaveholding planters were advancing from the seaboard to the occupation of the cotton-lands of the same region. As the free farmers of the interior had been replaced in the upland country of the South by the slaveholding planters, so now the frontiersmen of the Southwest were pushed back from the more fertile lands into the pine hills and barrens. Not only was the pioneer unable to refuse the higher price which was offered him for his clearing, but, in the competitive bidding of the public land sales,<sup>2</sup> the wealthier planter secured the desirable soils. Social forces worked to the same end. When the pioneer invited his slaveholding neighbor to a "raising", it grated on his sense of the fitness of things to have the guest appear with gloves, directing the gang of slaves which he contributed to the functions.<sup>3</sup> Little by little, therefore, the old pioneer life tended to retreat to the less desirable lands, leaving the slaveholder in possession of the rich "buck-shot" soils that spread over central Alabama and Mississippi and the fat alluvium that lined

*Geography and History of the Western States*, 350; J. Flint, *Letters from America*, 206; cf. Turner, "Significance of the Frontier in American History," in *Report of the American Historical Association for 1893*, 214; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 152-160; Kingdom, *America*, 56-57.

<sup>1</sup> Garrison, *Texas*, chaps. XIII., XIV.; Wooten (editor), *Comprehensive History of Texas*, I., chaps. VIII. and IX.; Kuykendall, "Reminiscences of Early Texans," in *Quarterly of Texas State Historical Association*, VII., no. 1, 29; Bugbee, "Texas Frontier," in *Publications of the Southern History Association*, March, 1900, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> *Northern Alabama* (published by Smith and De Land), 249; W. G. Brown, *History of Alabama*, 129-131; id., *Lower South*, 24-26.

<sup>3</sup> Susan D. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 67.

the eastern bank of the Mississippi.<sup>1</sup> Even at the present time, the counties of dense negro population reveal the results of this movement of segregation.

By the side of the picture of the advance of the pioneer farmer, bearing his household goods in his canvas-covered wagon to his new home across the Ohio, must therefore be placed the picture of the Southern planter, crossing through the forests of western Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, or passing over the free state of Illinois to the Missouri valley, in his family carriage, with servants, packs of hunting-dogs, and a train of slaves, their nightly camp-fires lighting up the wilderness where so recently the Indian hunter had held possession.<sup>2</sup>

But this new society had a characteristic Western flavor. The old patriarchal type of slavery along the seaboard was modified by the western conditions in the midst of which the slaveholding interest was now lodged. Planters, as well as pioneer farmers, were exploiting the wilderness, and building a new society under characteristic Western influences. Rude strength, a certain coarseness of life, and aggressiveness characterized this society, as it did the whole of the Mississippi valley.<sup>3</sup> Slavery furnished a new ingredient for Western forces to act upon. The system took on a more commercial tinge: the plantation had to be cleared and made profitable as a purely business enterprise; the slaves were purchased in considerable numbers from the older states instead of being inherited in the family. Slave-dealers passed to the Southwest, with their coffles of negroes brought from the outworn lands of the old South. It was estimated in 1832 that Virginia annually exported six thousand slaves for sale to other states.<sup>4</sup> An English traveller, Blane, reported in 1823 that every year from ten to fifteen thousand slaves were sold from the states of Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia, and sent to the South.<sup>5</sup> At the same time, illicit importation of slaves through New Orleans reached an amount estimated at from ten to fifteen thousand a year.<sup>6</sup> It was not until the next

<sup>1</sup> The Natchez region was long settled and prosperous. See description in Hodgson, *Letters from North America* (London, 1824), I. 184; Cuming, *Tour to the West* (Pittsburg, 1810), 293.

<sup>2</sup> Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 138; Niles' *Register*, XLIV. 222; Susan D. Smedes, *A Southern Planter*, 52-54; Flint, *Geography and History of the Western States*, II. 350, 379 (slaveholding migration into Missouri).

<sup>3</sup> Baldwin, *Flush Times in Alabama*; cf. Gilmer, *Sketches of Georgia, etc.*; Longstreet, *Georgia Scenes*; Phillips, *Georgia and State Rights*, chap. IV.

<sup>4</sup> Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 50.

<sup>5</sup> *Excursion through United States*, 226; Hodgson, *Letters from North America*, I. 194, says 4,000 to 5,000 per annum from Maryland and Virginia to New Orleans.

<sup>6</sup> Collins, *Domestic Slave Trade*, 44.

decade that this incoming tide of slaves reached its height, but by 1830 it was clearly marked and was already transforming the Southwest. Mississippi doubled the number of her slaves in the decade, and Alabama nearly trebled hers. In the same period the number of slaves in Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina remained practically stationary.

The comparative statistics of development of cotton culture in the South and Southwest illustrate the increase of the slaveholding plantations, and the gradual transformation of the lower South into the Cotton Kingdom. The following table shows the progress of this crop:

COTTON CROP (in million pounds).<sup>1</sup>

	1791	1801	1811	1821	1826	1834
South Carolina .....	1.5	20.0	40.0	50.0	70.0	65.0
Georgia .....	.5	10.0	20.0	50.0	75.0	75.0
Virginia .....		5.0	8.0	12.0	25.0	10.0
North Carolina.....		4.0	7.0	10.0	10.0	9.5
Total .....	2.0	39.0	75.0	122.0	180.0	159.5
Tennessee .....		1.0	3.0	20.0	45.0	45.0
Louisiana .....			2.0	10.0	55.0	62.0
Mississippi.....				10.0	70.0	85.0
Alabama .....				20.0	45.0	85.0
Florida.....					2.0	20.0
Arkansas .....					.5	.5
Total.....		1.0	5.0	60.0	217.5	297.5
Grand total .....	2.0	40.0	80.0	182.0	397.5	457.0

After 1830 the differences between the northern and southern portions of the Mississippi valley were accentuated. From New York and New England came a tide of settlement, in the thirties, which followed the Erie Canal and the Great Lakes, and began to occupy the prairie lands, which had been avoided by the Southern axmen. This region became an extension of the Greater New England already to be seen in New York. The Southern pioneers in the Northwest formed a transitional zone between this northern area and the slave states south of the Ohio. In the Gulf Plains a Greater South was in process of formation, but by no means completely established. As yet it was a mixture of pioneer and planter, slave and free, profoundly affected by its Western traits.<sup>2</sup> The different states of the South were steadily sending in their colonists. In Alabama, for example, the Georgians settled, as a rule, in the

<sup>1</sup> De Bow, *Review*, XVII. 428; cf. MacGregor, *Commercial Statistics*. 462; von Halle, *Baumwollproduktion*, 169. There are discrepancies; the figures are to be taken as illustrative rather than exact.

<sup>2</sup> Curry, "A Settlement in East Alabama," in *American Historical Magazine*, II. 203.

east; the Tennesseans, moving from the great bend of the Tennessee River, were attracted to the northern and middle section; and the Virginians and Carolinians went to the west and southwest, following the bottom-lands near the rivers.<sup>1</sup>

By 1820 the West had developed the beginnings of many of the cities which have since ruled over the region. Buffalo and Detroit were hardly more than villages until the close of this period, when Buffalo counted over 8,000 souls. They waited for the development of steam navigation on the Great Lakes and the opening of the prairies. Cleveland was but a hamlet during most of the decade. By 1830 the construction of the canal connecting the Cuyahoga with the Scioto increased her prosperity, and her harbor began to profit by its natural advantages. As the metropolis of the Western Reserve, it had an important future; but at the beginning of the decade of which we write its population was only one hundred and fifty, and at its close only one thousand.<sup>2</sup> Chicago and Milwaukee were mere fur-trading stations in Indian country until the close of the decade. Pittsburg, at the head of the Ohio, was losing its old pre-eminence as the gateway to the West, but was finding recompense in the development of its manufactures. By 1830 its population was about twelve thousand.<sup>3</sup> Foundries, rolling-mills, nail-factories, steam-engine works, and distilleries were busily at work; and the city, dingy with the smoke of soft coal, was already dubbed the "young Manchester" or the "Birmingham" of America.

By 1830 Wheeling had intercepted much of the overland trade and travel to the Ohio, profiting by the Old National Road and the wagon trade from Baltimore. As the head of navigation during low water and by its location below Pittsburg, it gave readier access to the Ohio valley. By 1830 it was about the same size as Buffalo. Over one hundred and thirty steam-mills, within twenty-five miles of the city, produced nearly a million dollars' worth of flour annually.<sup>4</sup> It was also the site of a few cotton-mills and woolen-mills and some iron-works. Cincinnati was rapidly rising to the position of the Queen City of the West. Situated where the river reached with a great bend toward the interior of the Northwest, in the rich farming country between the two Miamis, and opposite the Licking River, it was the commercial centre of a vast and fertile region

<sup>1</sup> W. G. Brown, *History of Alabama*, 129-130; *Northern Alabama* (published by Smith and De Land), part iv. 243 *et seqq.*

<sup>2</sup> Whittlesey, *Early History of Cleveland*, 456; Kennedy, *History of Cleveland*, chap. viii.

<sup>3</sup> Thurston, *Pittsburgh and Allegheny in the Centennial Year*, 61.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Gazetteer of Virginia*, 407.

of Ohio and Kentucky.<sup>1</sup> Its population was recruited chiefly from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, and it had a reputation for cleanliness and thrift, and for its newspapers and periodicals, its educational facilities, and its churches.<sup>2</sup> By 1830, with 24,800 souls and some three thousand dwellings, mostly brick,<sup>3</sup> it was the most populous city of the West, with the exception of New Orleans. The centre of steamboat-building, it also received extensive imports of goods from the East and exported the surplus crops of Ohio and adjacent parts of Kentucky. Its principal industry, however, was pork-packing, from which it won the name of "Porkopolis".<sup>4</sup> By the close of the decade its annual exports averaged over \$1,500,000 and its imports over \$4,000,000. When the canals between Lake Erie and the Ohio were opened, about 1830, it profited by the trade of the central portion of the state. Louisville, at the Falls of the Ohio, was an important place of transshipment, and the export centre for large quantities of tobacco. There were considerable manufactures of rope and bagging, products of the Kentucky hemp-fields, and new cotton and woolen factories were struggling for existence.<sup>5</sup> By 1830 it had a population of about ten thousand. St. Louis occupied a unique position, as the entrepôt of the important fur-trade of the upper Mississippi and the vast water system of the Missouri, as well as the outfitting-point for the Missouri settlements. The French element was still important, but was gradually giving way to adventurous Americans. St. Louis's interests included the far-off region of the Columbia and the ancient Spanish settlements about Santa Fé. It was the capital of the Far West, and the commercial centre for Illinois. Its population at the close of the decade was about six thousand.

Only a few villages lay along the Mississippi between St. Louis and New Orleans. Memphis and Vicksburg were small centres for the neighboring planters, but without particular significance at this time; Natchez was an old settlement, reminding visitors of a West-Indian town. New Orleans was the emporium of the whole Mississippi valley. As yet the direct effect of the Erie Canal was chiefly limited to the state of New York. There was only the beginning of steam navigation on the Great Lakes, and the Ohio

<sup>1</sup> Melish, *Information to Emigrants*, 108.

<sup>2</sup> *Cincinnati Directory* (1829), 141; Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, chaps. III.-XVII.

<sup>3</sup> Cumings, *Western Pilot*, 40; Ogden, *Letters from the West*, 19; Mrs. Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, chaps. v.-xvi.

<sup>4</sup> Drake and Mansfield, *Cincinnati in 1826*, 70; *Winter in the West*, I, 115.

<sup>5</sup> Durrett, *Centenary of Louisville* (Filson Club Pubs., No. 8), 50-101; *Louisville Directory*, 1832, 131.

was not connected with them by canals until the close of the period. The great bulk of western exports passed down the tributaries of the Mississippi to New Orleans. It was, therefore, the centre of foreign exports for the valley, as well as the port from which the coastwise trade in the products of the whole interior departed. In 1830 its population was nearly fifty thousand.<sup>1</sup>

The rise of an agricultural surplus was transforming the West and preparing a new influence in the nation. It was this surplus and the demand for markets that developed the cities just mentioned. As they grew, the price of land in their neighborhood increased; roads radiated into the surrounding country; and farmers, whose crops had been almost worthless from the lack of transportation facilities, now found it possible to market their surplus at a small profit. While the West was thus learning the advantages of a home market, the extension of cotton and sugar cultivation in the South and Southwest gave them a new and valuable market. More and more, the planters came to rely upon the Northwest for their food supplies and for the mules and horses for their fields. Cotton became the engrossing interest of the plantation belt, and, while the full effects of this differentiation of industry did not appear in our decade, the beginnings were already visible.<sup>2</sup> In 1835 Pitkin<sup>3</sup> reckoned the value of the domestic and foreign exports of the interior as far in excess of the whole exports of the United States in 1790. Within forty years the development of the interior had brought about the economic independence of the United States, and transferred to interstate trade the larger part of the trade which had formerly sought the Old World.

During most of the decade the merchandise to supply the interior was brought laboriously across the mountains by the Pennsylvania turnpikes and the Old National Road, or, in the case of especially heavy freight, was carried along the Atlantic coast into the Gulf and up the Mississippi and Ohio by steamboats. The cost of transportation in the wagon trade from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh and Baltimore to Wheeling placed a heavy tax upon the consumer. In 1817 the freight charge from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh was estimated at as high as seven to ten dollars a hundredweight;<sup>4</sup> a few years later it dropped to four to six dollars;<sup>5</sup> and in 1823 it had

<sup>1</sup> Fortier, *History of Louisiana*, III., ch. VII.; Waring and Cable, *New Orleans* (Tenth Census, Social Statistics of Cities), 43-47.

<sup>2</sup> Callender, "Early Transportation and Banking Enterprises of the States," in *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, November, 1902 (XVII. 3-54).

<sup>3</sup> *Statistical View*, 534.

<sup>4</sup> Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 128.

<sup>5</sup> Ogden, *Letters from the West*, 8; Cobbett, *Year's Residence*, 337; Evans, *Pedestrian Tour*, 145.



fallen to three dollars.<sup>1</sup> It took a month to wagon merchandise from Baltimore to central Ohio.<sup>2</sup> Transportation companies, running four-horse freight wagons, conducted a regular business on these turnpikes between the eastern and western states. In 1820 over three thousand wagons ran between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, transporting merchandise valued at about eighteen million dollars annually.<sup>3</sup>

The construction of the National Road had reduced freight rates to nearly one-half what they were at the close of the War of 1812, and the introduction of steam navigation from New Orleans up the Mississippi had cut water-rates by that route to one-third of the former charge. Nevertheless there was a crying need for internal improvements, and particularly for canals, to provide an outlet for the increasing products of the West. "Even in the country where I reside, not eighty miles from tidewater", said Tucker,<sup>4</sup> of Virginia, "it takes the farmer one bushel of wheat to pay the expense of carrying two to a seaport town."

The bulk of the crop, as compared with its value, practically prevented transportation by land farther than a hundred miles.<sup>5</sup> It is this that helps to explain the attention which the interior first gave to making whisky and raising livestock; the former carried the crop in a small bulk with high value, while the livestock could walk to a market. Until after the War of 1812, the cattle of the Ohio valley were driven to the seaboard, chiefly to Philadelphia or Baltimore.<sup>6</sup> Travellers were astonished to see on the highway droves of four or five thousand hogs, going to an eastern market. It was estimated that over a hundred thousand hogs were driven east annually from Kentucky alone.<sup>7</sup> Kentucky hog-drivers also passed into Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas with their droves.<sup>8</sup> The swine lived on the nuts and acorns of the forests; thus they were peculiarly suited to pioneer conditions. At first the cattle were taken to the plantations of the Potomac to fatten for Baltimore and Philadelphia, much in the same way that, in recent times, the cattle of the Great Plains are brought to the feeding-grounds in the corn belt of Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa.<sup>9</sup> Toward the close

<sup>1</sup> *Philadelphia in 1824* (Philadelphia, 1824), 45. <sup>2</sup> Searight, *Old Pike*, 112.

<sup>3</sup> Mills, *Treatise on Inland Navigation* (Baltimore, 1820), 89, 90, 93, 95-97; *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., I. 991; Searight, *Old Pike*, 107.

<sup>4</sup> Speech in House of Representatives, March 6, 1818, *Annals of Congress*, 15 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1126.

<sup>5</sup> McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, III. 464.

<sup>6</sup> *Life of Ephraim Cutler*, 89; Birkbeck, *Notes on Journey*, 24.

<sup>7</sup> *Excursion through United States* (London, 1824), 90.

<sup>8</sup> *Atlantic Monthly*, XXVI. 170.

<sup>9</sup> Michaux, *Travels*, 191; J. Palmer, *Journal of Travels*, 36.



of the decade, however, the feeding-grounds shifted into Ohio, and the pork-packing industry, as we have seen, found its centre at Cincinnati,<sup>1</sup> the most important source of supply for the hams and bacon and salt pork which passed down the Mississippi to furnish a large share of the plantation food. From Kentucky and the rest of the Ohio valley droves of mules and horses passed through the Tennessee valley to the South to supply the plantations.

Statistics at Cumberland Gap for 1828 gave the value of livestock passing the turnpike gate there at \$1,167,000.<sup>2</sup> Senator Hayne, of South Carolina, declared that in 1824 the South was supplied from the West, through Saluda Gap, with livestock, horses, cattle, and hogs, to the amount of over a million dollars a year.<sup>3</sup>

But the outlet from the West over the roads to the East and South was but a subordinate element in her internal commerce. It was the Father of Waters, with its ramifying tributaries, which gathered the products of the great valley and brought them to New Orleans. Down the Mississippi floated a multitude of craft: lumberrafts from the Allegheny, the old-time arks, with cattle, flour, and bacon, hay-boats, keel-boats, and skiffs, all mingled with the steamboats which plied the western waters.<sup>4</sup> Flatboatmen, raftsmen, and deck-hands constituted a turbulent and reckless population, living on the country through which they passed, fighting and drinking in true "half-horse, half-alligator" style. Prior to the steamboat, all of the commerce from New Orleans to the upper country was carried on in about twenty barges, averaging a hundred tons each, and making one trip a year. Although the steamboat did not drive out the other craft, it revolutionized the commerce of the river.<sup>5</sup> Whereas it had taken the keel-boats thirty to forty days to descend from Louisville to New Orleans, and about ninety days to ascend the fifteen hundred miles of navigation by poling and warping upstream, the steamboat had shortened the time, by 1822, to seven days down and sixteen days up.<sup>6</sup> As the steamboats ascended the

<sup>1</sup> J. Hall, *Statistics of the West* (Cincinnati, 1836), 145-147.

<sup>2</sup> *Emigrant's and Traveller's Guide to the West* (Philadelphia, 1834), 194.

<sup>3</sup> Speech in Senate in 1832, *Register of Debates in Congress*, VIII., part 1. 80; cf. *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1411.

<sup>4</sup> For descriptions of the navigation of the Mississippi see T. Flint, *Recollections of the Last Ten Years* (Boston, 1826), 101-110; E. S. Thomas, *Reminiscences of the Last Sixty-five Years* (Hartford, 1840), I. 290-293; *Report on Internal Commerce*, 1888; Hall, *Statistics of the West* (Cincinnati, 1836), 236; *History of Alexander, Union, and Pulaski Counties, Illinois*, 269; W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 85; Schultz, *Travels*, 129.

<sup>5</sup> Hall, *The West: its Commerce and Navigation*, 168.

<sup>6</sup> *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 2 sess., 407; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 166; *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823 (list

various tributaries of the Mississippi to gather the products of the growing West, the pioneers came more and more to realize the importance of the invention. They resented the idea of the monopoly which Fulton and Livingston wished to enforce prior to the decision of Chief Justice Marshall, in the case of *Gibbons v. Ogden*—a decision of vital interest to the whole interior.<sup>1</sup>

They saw in the steamboat a symbol of their own development. "An Atlantic cit", boasted a writer in the *Western Monthly Review*,<sup>2</sup>

who talks of us under the name of backwoodsmen, would not believe, that such fairy structures of oriental gorgeousness and splendor, as the Washington, the Florida, the Walk in the Water, the Lady of the Lake, etc. etc., had ever existed in the imaginative brain of a romancer, much less, that they were actually in existence, rushing down the Mississippi, as on the wings of the wind, or plowing up between the forests, and walking against the mighty current 'as things of life,' bearing speculators, merchants, dandies, fine ladies, every thing real, and every thing affected, in the form of humanity, with pianos, and stocks of novels, and cards, and dice, and flirting, and love-making, and drinking, and champagne, and on the deck, perhaps, three hundred fellows, who have seen alligators, and neither fear whiskey, nor gun-powder. A steam boat, coming from New Orleans, brings to the remotest villages of our streams, and the very doors of the cabins, a little Paris, a section of Broadway, or a slice of Philadelphia, to ferment in the minds of our young people, the innate propensity for fashions and finery. Within a day's journey of us, three distinct canals are in respectable progress towards completion. . . . Cincinnati will soon be the centre of the 'celestial empire,' as the Chinese say; and instead of encountering the storms, the sea sickness, and dangers of a passage from the gulf of Mexico to the Atlantic, whenever the Erie canal shall be completed, the opulent southern planters will take their families, their dogs and parrots, through a world of forests, from New Orleans to New York, giving us a call by the way. When they are more acquainted with us, their voyage will often terminate here.

By 1830 the produce which reached New Orleans from the Mississippi valley was estimated to amount to twenty-six million dollars.<sup>3</sup> In 1822 three million dollars' worth of goods was estimated to have passed the Falls of the Ohio on the way to market, of steamboats, rates of passage, estimate of products); *Excursion through the United States*, 119.

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Travels through the Western Country*, 62; *Alexandria Herald*, June 23, 1817.

<sup>2</sup> Timothy Flint's *Western Monthly Review*, May, 1827 (I. 25-26).

<sup>3</sup> *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XVII. 20; cf. Pitkin, *Statistical View* (1835), 534-536, giving the figures of the annual surplus for the various areas of the West, 1832-1834. He gives to Tennessee over six million dollars; to Kentucky five and a quarter millions; to Ohio ten millions; and to the Wabash valley, Indiana, one million.

representing much of the surplus of the Ohio valley. Of this, pork amounted to \$1,000,000 in value; flour, to \$900,000; tobacco, to \$600,000; and whisky, to \$500,000.<sup>1</sup> The inventory of products reveals the Mississippi valley as a vast colonial society, producing the raw materials of a simple and primitive agriculture. The beginnings of manufacture in her cities, however, promised to bring about a movement for industrial independence in the West. In spite of evidences of growing wealth, there was such a decline in agricultural prices that, for the farmer who did not live on the highways of commerce, it was almost unprofitable to raise wheat for the market.<sup>2</sup>

These are the economic conditions that assist in understanding the political attitude of Western leaders in our period. The cry of the East for protection to infant industries was swelled by the little cities of the West, and the demand for a home market found its strongest support beyond the Alleghenies. Internal improvements and lower rates of transportation were essential to the prosperity of the Westerners. Largely a debtor class, in need of capital, credit, and an expansion of the currency, they resented attempts to restrain the reckless banking which their optimism fostered.

But the political ideals and actions of the West are explained by social, quite as much as by economic, forces. It was certain that this society, where equality and individualism flourished, where assertive democracy was supreme, where impatience with the old order of things was a ruling passion, would demand control of the government, would resent the rule of the trained statesmen and official classes, and would fight nominations by Congressional caucus and the continuance of presidential dynasties. Besides its susceptibility to change, the West had generated, from its Indian fighting, forest-felling, and expansion, a belligerency and a largeness of outlook with regard to the nation's territorial destiny. As the pioneer, widening the ring-wall of his clearing in the midst of the stumps and marshes of the wilderness, had a vision of the lofty buildings and crowded streets of a future city, so the West as a whole de-

<sup>1</sup> *National Republican*, March 7, 1823; cf. *National Gazette*, September 26, 1823; *Excursion through the United States*, 119.

<sup>2</sup> W. C. Howells, *Life in Ohio*, 138. "Fifty cents a bushel was a great price for it [wheat] at the river; and, as two horses and a man were required for four days to make the journey [thirty-five miles, to the Ohio], in good weather, with thirty-five or forty bushels of wheat, and a great deal longer if the roads were bad, it was not to be expected that we could realize more than twenty-five cents in cash for it. But there was no sale for it in cash. The nominal price for it in trade was usually thirty cents." On the price of wheat, see M'Culloch, *Commercial Dictionary* (Philadelphia, 1852), I. 683, 684; Hazard, *United States Commercial and Statistical Register*, I. 251; O'Reilly, *Sketches of Rochester*, 362.

veloped ideals of the future of the common man, and of the grandeur and expansion of the nation.

The West was too new a section to have developed educational facilities to any large extent. The pioneers' poverty, as well as the traditions of the southern interior from which they so largely came, discouraged extensive expenditures for public schools.<sup>1</sup> In Kentucky and Tennessee the more prosperous planters had private tutors, often New England collegians, for their children.<sup>2</sup> So-called colleges were numerous, some of them fairly good. In 1830 a writer in the *American Quarterly Register*<sup>3</sup> made a survey of higher education in the whole western country and reported twenty-eight institutions, with seven hundred and sixty-six graduates and fourteen hundred and thirty undergraduates. Less than forty thousand volumes were recorded in the college and "social" libraries of the entire Mississippi valley. Very few students went from the West to eastern colleges. But the foundations of public education had been laid in the land-grants for common schools and universities. For the present this fund was generally misappropriated and wasted, or worse. But the ideal of a democratic education was held up in the first constitution of Indiana, making it the duty of the legislature to provide for "a general system of education, ascending in a regular graduation from township schools to a State university, wherein tuition shall be gratis, and equally open to all."<sup>4</sup>

Literature did not flourish in the West, although the newspaper press<sup>5</sup> followed closely after the retreating savage and many short-lived periodicals were founded.<sup>6</sup> Lexington, Kentucky, and Cincinnati made rival claims to be the "Athens of the West". In religion, the West was partial to those denominations which prevailed in the democratic portions of New England. Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians took the lead.<sup>7</sup> The religious life of the West

<sup>1</sup> McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, V. 370-372.

<sup>2</sup> For example, Amos Kendall was tutor in Henry Clay's family. See Kendall, *Autobiography*.

<sup>3</sup> November, 1830, III. 127, 131.

<sup>4</sup> Poore, *Charters and Constitutions*, part I. 508 (art. ix., sec. 2 of Constitution of Indiana, 1816).

<sup>5</sup> W. H. Perrin, *Pioneer Press of Kentucky* (Filson Club Publications).

<sup>6</sup> Venable, *Beginnings of Literary Culture in the Ohio Valley*, ch. III.; W. B. Cairns, "Development of American Literature from 1815 to 1833", in *Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, Philology and Literature Series*, I. 60-63.

<sup>7</sup> *American Quarterly Register*, III. 135, November, 1830, gives an estimate of the number of churches and communicants of the various sects in the Mississippi valley; see also, Schermerhorn and Mills, *Correct View of that Part of the United States West of the Allegany Mountains* (Hartford, 1814); *Home Missionary*, 1827, pp. 78, 79, 1830, p. 172; McMaster, *History of the People of the United States*, IV. 550-555.

frequently expressed itself in the form of emotional gatherings, in the camp-meetings and the revivals, where the rude, unlettered, but deeply religious backwoods preachers moved their large audiences with warnings of the wrath of God. Muscular Christianity was personified in the circuit-rider, who, with his saddle-bags and Bible, threaded the dreary trails through the forest from settlement to settlement. From the responsiveness of the West to religious excitement, it was easy to perceive that here was a region capable of being swayed in large masses by enthusiasm. These traits of the camp-meeting were manifested later in political campaigns.

Thus this society beyond the mountains, recruited from all the older states and bound together by the Mississippi, constituted a region swayed by common impulses. By the march of the Westerners away from their native states to the public domain of the nation, and by their organization as territories of the United States, they lost that state particularism which distinguished many of the old commonwealths of the coast. The section was nationalistic and democratic to the core. The West admired the self-made man and was ready to follow its hero with the enthusiasm of a section more responsive to personality than to the programmes of trained statesmen. It was a self-confident section, believing in its right to share in government, and troubled by no doubts of its capacity to rule.

FREDERICK J. TURNER.

## DOCUMENTS

### 1. *A Virginian Minister's Library, 1635*

JOHN GOODBORNE (or Goodbarne), a minister of the Church of England, sailed from England in 1635 as a passenger in the *Globe* for a plantation in Virginia called Merchant's Hope, in which John Sadler, William Guyney, and others were the adventurers. He died on the voyage, and his effects were delivered by Jeremy Blackman, the master of the *Globe*, to William Barker, who put them into a storehouse ashore. Blackman and Barker returned to England, where Peter Goodborne, father of John Goodborne, sued them in the High Court of Admiralty and obtained a sentence for the value of the goods. The following schedule of John Goodborne's books and wearing apparel is appended to the libel and appears to be in his own handwriting. The schedule is in tabular form, and the values of the items, in columns, are written thus: 00<sup>l</sup> 10<sup>s</sup> 00<sup>d</sup>. In the transcript below, some contractions have been extended, and the values are given in modern form. The documents are among the records of the Admiralty Court in the Public Record Office in London: Libels 94, No. 204; Libels 95, Nos. 137, 138; Examinations 115, June 17 and July 7, 1637.

R. G. MARSDEN.

[Nearly all the titles have been identified, either by Mr. Marsden or by the managing editor. Foot-notes have been appended only in the case of those entries which do not sufficiently show the character of the book, or where the identification presented some difficulty.]

#### *A particular note of my bookes.*

P. Martirs Common places, 10s; his Comment[aries] on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of the Kinges, 8s; on Judges, 5s; of the Eucharist, 4s; on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 to Corinth[ians], 8s; on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of Samuel, 8s; on the Romans, 4s; Leo papa, — the workes of Chrisoloras, Fulgentius, Valerianus, Maximus Tyrius, in one volume,<sup>1</sup> 18s; Fulke on the Romish Testament,<sup>2</sup> 12s; Davenant on the Colossians, 6s; Byfield on the Colossians, 6s;

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the emigrant had the fifth volume of Margarinus de La Bigne, *Magna Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum* (Cologne, 1619).

<sup>2</sup> William Fulke, *A Defense of the Sincere and True Translations of the Holie Scriptures into the English Tong* (London, 1583, 1617, 1633).

Wilson on the Romans, 6s; Knights Concordance,<sup>1</sup> 4s; Cottons Concordance,<sup>2</sup> 8s; Allens doct[rine] of the Gospell, 6s; Hockers Ecclesiastig. policy,<sup>3</sup> 8s; Baines on the Proverbes, 4s; Austin of the City of God, English, with Ludovicus Vives,<sup>4</sup> 10s; Plutarchs lives, English, 17s; Prospers workes, 4s; Vorsii [qu. Voetii] theses, 4s; Pagina interlin. raris [?] versis Psalmorum, Proverb., Cant. Cantic., Ruth, Hester, Job, Ecclesi., Threnorum, 2s 6d; Amesii Coronis, 1s 4d, Medulla, 1s 6d, Bellar[minus] Enervatus, 2 volumes, 5s 1d, Cases, 1s 6d, Antesisnodalia,<sup>5</sup> 1s 6d; Echardi, facicul. Controversiarum,<sup>6</sup> 1s 6d; Moses unveiled, by W. Guild, 10d; Bucans Common places, 2s; Austins Enchiridion, with Danaus,<sup>7</sup> 2s; Militis Christiani Encheiridion Erasmo autore, 6d; Ainsworth in Pentateuchid., Psalmos, 10s; Acta Synodi Dordrachen[is], 6s; Erasmi Paraphrasis in N. T., 2s; Parks [?] on James, 2s; Mayer on James,<sup>8</sup> 2s; Harmony Epist[olarum] Pauli, 1s 4d; Dionysius Carthusius in Epist[olas] Pauli, 1s 4d; Jewell on the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2 of Thessal[onians], 1s; Buchanans latin psalmes, 1s 2d; Lactantii opera, 1s 6d; Austins<sup>9</sup> Meditacons, latin, 1s 2d; Alstedii logica Theologic.,<sup>10</sup> 8d; An explanation of the Common Catechisme, 1s 6d; Hunnius in Johannem, 1s 6d; Psalmes in 4<sup>r</sup> partes, 1s 6d; In Habackuk and Soponiam, Brevis Dilucidatio, incerto autore, 3d; Piscator in Evangelia, Acta Apostolorum, Epistolae Pauli, Epistolae Canonicae, 5s; Two g[r]eeke testaments, one with the English psalmes, 3s; Talle booke, 2d; Kempusii<sup>11</sup> opusculum, 4d; Salviani opera, 1s; Ainsworths Communion of Saints, 2s; Bedae [a]xiomata philosophica, 6d; Henricii institucones med., 1s; Reuchlin de verbo mirifico, 1s; Vincentius contra Hereses, 1s; D<sup>r</sup> Sutton on the Sacrament of the lords supper, 10d; His two treatises, lear[n]e to live, learne to die, 1s 4d; Brinsleys Grammer schoole, lent to M<sup>r</sup> Cleark, 1s; Theologicall rules [for] misticall cases, 6d; Willsons dictionary<sup>12</sup> with white paper betwene every leafe, in 3 volumes, 6s; Tolet de Anima,<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> William Knight, *A Concordance Axiomaticall . . . of . . . Holie Scripture* (London, 1610).

<sup>2</sup> Clement Colton, *A Complete Concordance to the Bible* (London, 1631).

<sup>3</sup> Meaning Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

<sup>4</sup> *St. Augustine of the Citie of God; with the learned Comments of J. L. Vives. Englished by J. H[ale]* (London, 1610).

<sup>5</sup> William Ames, *Coronis ad Collationem Hagensem, Medulla Theologica, De Conscientia et ejus Jure vel Casibus* (Amsterdam, 1634; the English translation did not appear till 1639), *Antisynodalia Scripta* (Amsterdam, 1633).

<sup>6</sup> H. Eckhard, *Fasciculus Controversiarum Theologicarum* (Leipzig, 1611).

<sup>7</sup> *Divi Aur. Augustini Liber de Haeresibus, L. Danaei opera emendatus*, etc. (Geneva, 1578).

<sup>8</sup> John Mayer, *Exposition upon the Epistle of St. James* (London, 1629).

<sup>9</sup> St. Augustine.

<sup>10</sup> Probably *J. H. Alstedii Lexicon Theologicum* (Hannover, 1620).

<sup>11</sup> Sc. Thomas a Kempis.

<sup>12</sup> Thomas Wilson, *A Christian Dictionary, opening the Significations of the chiefe Words dispersed generally through Holy Scriptures*.

<sup>13</sup> Cardinal Fr. Toledo's commentaries on Aristotle *De Anima*, many eds.

1s; Scharpii *Simphonia*,<sup>1</sup> 2s 6d; *Biblia Tremellii et Junii*,<sup>2</sup> 7s 6d; Calvin on the psalmes, 5s; Pelasheri analysis Typ., 5s; *Fonsecae Metaph.*:<sup>3</sup> Tom. 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2s; Calvin on the 1 and 2 epist. in the Corinth., 2s 6d; Dent on the Revelations,<sup>4</sup> 1s; *Goesii opus histori[cum]*, 8d; Yates his modell of divin[ity], 1s 4d; Allens Concordancy of the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, 1s; Doctor Twine's translation of Virgill in Meeter, 8d; Prideaux his lectures, 1s; Bulkley his appollogy for the Church of Englands Religions, 4d; Terence in English, by Barnard, 1s 4d; Masons treatis of fasting,<sup>5</sup> 1s; Byfelde on part of 1<sup>st</sup> epistle of Peter, 1s 4d; E[u]sebii historia, 2s; Polani parct. theolog.,<sup>6</sup> 1s; Marlorati thesaurus,<sup>7</sup> 1s; A concordance, 6d; Pagnini lexicon Hebr., 1s; Aelian de Animal., 2s; the Booke of Canons, 10d; Senecae opera, 3s; Caesaris comentaria, 1s; Justini historia, 1s; the booke of Articles, 4d; Pindari opera, 1s 6d; *Homeri Ilias*, 2s; poetae minores, 1s 6d; Bellarmini Gra[mmat.]t. Hebr., 1s 6d; Buxtorfii Epitome,<sup>8</sup> 1s; Camdeni Grammata Graeca, 4d; Cleonardi Grammata Graeca, 1s 6d; Scapulae Lexicon,<sup>9</sup> 9s; Stobai sententiae et al[ia] Grecolat[ina], 3s; Tullii orationes cum variis commentar. fol., 6s; Erasmus Adagia, 9s; Plutarchi vitae lat., 4s; Aristotelis opera Graecolatina, 2 volumes, 12s; Dictionarium poeticum, 3s; Tullii opera, 4s; Calvini catechesis, 1s 6d; Ursini catechesis, 2s; Summa consiliorum, 1s 6d; Vogelii thesaurus, 2s; Lombardi sententiae,<sup>10</sup> 3s 6d; Calvini Institutiones, 3s; Stockwoods disputacons,<sup>11</sup> 8d; Quintilians declamacons, 2s 6d; Pasors Lexicon,<sup>12</sup> 1s 6d; Thucidides lat., 2s 6d; Natalis Com[itum] Mytholog[ia], 2s 6d; Ovidii opera 4<sup>v</sup> volumes, 2s 6d; Garthii lexicon, 1s 6d; Philosophy, bookes unperfect, 6d; Juvenall and Persius, 1s 4d; Horace with Bond,<sup>13</sup> 1s 8d; Magi Physick, 1s 6d; Kettermans Phisick, 1s 6d; Kaeckermans log., 1s 4d; Scaliger de subtil., 1s 8d; Keckermans Mathemat., 1s 4d; Walaei Ethica Christiana, 1s 4d; Templeei Metaph., 1s 6d; A treatise of Christs Sufferings, 6d; *Apologia Ecclesiae Anglicanae*,<sup>14</sup> 6d; *De Ecclesiae Catholicae*

<sup>1</sup> J. Scharpius, *Symphonia Prophetarum et Apostolorum*. (Geneva, 1625).

<sup>2</sup> *Testamenti Veteris Biblia Sacra . . . Latini recens ex Hebraeo facti . . . ab J. Tremellio et F. Junio* (London, 1580, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> Peter da Fonseca's commentaries on the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle, many eds.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Dent, *The Ruine of Rome: or an Exposition upon the whole Revelation* (London, 1603, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> Henry Mason, *Christian Humiliation, or a Treatise of Fasting* (London, 1625).

<sup>6</sup> Amandus Polanus, *Partitiones Theologicae* (Basel, 1599).

<sup>7</sup> Augustin Marlorat, *Propheticae et Apostolicae . . . Scripturae Thesaurus* (1574).

<sup>8</sup> J. Buxtorf, *Epitome Radicum Hebraicarum et Chaldaicarum* (Basel, 1607).

<sup>9</sup> Joannes Scapula, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.

<sup>10</sup> *The Sentences of Peter Lombard*.

<sup>11</sup> John Stockwood, *Disputatiuncularum Grammaticalium Libellus* (London, 1619).

<sup>12</sup> George Pasor, *Lexicon Graeco-Latinum*.

<sup>13</sup> *Quinti Horatii Flacci Poemata, scholiis a Joanne Bond illustrata* (London, 1606, etc.).

<sup>14</sup> Probably that of Bishop John Jewel.



notis . . . e Libel.,<sup>1</sup> 4d ; Lodoici exercitia,<sup>2</sup> 6d ; Plautus, 1s 6d ; Virgill with notes and pic[t]ures, 2s ; Mongotii Postillae, 2s ; Terence, 10d ; Suetonius, 1s ; Poselii syntaxis,<sup>3</sup> 1s ; Calvini grammat[a] Graec[a], 1s 4d ; Porta Linguarum,<sup>4</sup> 1s 8d ; Cornelii a Lapide opera, 6 voluminibus, 4l 10s 0d ; Estius in Epistolas,<sup>5</sup> 16s ; Maldonate in Evangelia, 12s ; Stella in Lucam, 10s ; Barnadi opera, 1l 0s 0d ; Pierii hieroglyphica, 10s ; Theodoreti opera, 17s ; Davenants determinacon,<sup>6</sup> 4s 6d ; D<sup>r</sup> Tweese his controversie,<sup>7</sup> 6s ; Augustini epitome, 4s ; Brightman in Cantica, 1s 6d ; Barnard on the common . . . h,<sup>8</sup> 2d ; D<sup>r</sup> Prestons workes in 6 volumes,<sup>9</sup> 1l 4s 0d ; Otes on the Epistle of Jude, 7s ; Doctor Gibs his workes in 3 volumes, 6s 10d ; Gifford on the Canticles, 1s 4d ; Isocratis orationes Grecolat., 1s 6d ; Tho. Aquinatis summa, 2 volumes old print, 8s ; Boltons Instructions,<sup>10</sup> 5s ; An Englishe bible, 4s ; Halfe a Rheame of white writinge paper, 3s 4d. Summa total. 32l 16s 6d.

*A particular note of my apparell and other things*

Two hatts, the one old which is worth 6s, the other new which cost 14s ; An old cloth coate lined with cotton Bayes, 1l 0s 0d ; A cloath gowne and two Cassocks, the one cloth and the other stufte, all newe, 5l 14s 0d ; A stufte cloake and suite, both newe, 4l 0s 0d ; Two old cloth suits, and a new cloth Jackett, 2l 0s 0d ; A pewter candle stick, 10d ; An old cloth Cloake, 1l 10s 0d ; A redd scarlett capp laced, 1s ; A newe silke girdle, 5s ; A newe payer of Buckes leather gloves, 4s 4d ; One newe paire of gray wollen stockings, 2s ; Two newe payer of black wollen stockings, 6s ; A payer of newe Gloves with black silke trimminge, 2s ; One newe paire of worsted stockings, 5s ; One old payer of worsted stockings, 2s 6d ; One newe redd cotton wascoate, 2s 6d ; An old one, 1s ; fower neckclothes, 1s 6d ; A newe quilted cappe, 1s 6d ; 3 other newe payer of gloves, 2s 9d ; An old payer of Cordivant gloves, 1s 6d ; an old quilted capp, 9d ; A new sattin cappe, 3s 6d ; 4 linnen cappes without lace, 3s ; A new Coverlett, 1l 10s 0d ; 12 bands, 10s ; An old Coverlett, 8s ; 9 shirts, 2l 7s 0d ; A newe Blanckett, 8s ; 13 newe handkercheefes, 6s 6d ; A tinder box, 2d ; 12 old handkercheefes, 3s ; 8 or 9 payer of old cufes, 1s ; A newe leather cappe lined with Taffety, 1s 9d ; 8 payer of newe socks, 4s 6d ; A payer of newe bootes, 7s ; An old lookinge glasse, 4d ;

<sup>1</sup> Probably Theodore Beza, *De veris et visibilibus Ecclesiae Catholicae Notis* (Geneva, 1579).

<sup>2</sup> Probably Gottfried Ludwig, *Exercitatio Historica Theologica*.

<sup>3</sup> Joannis Posselii *Syntaxis Graeca*.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the well-known work of Comenius.

<sup>5</sup> Gulielmus Estius, *In Epistolas D. Pauli ad Romanos*, etc.

<sup>6</sup> J. Davenant, *Determinationes Quaestionum quarundam theologicarum* (Cambridge, 1634).

<sup>7</sup> Perhaps William Twiss, *A Discovery of D. Jackson's Vanity*.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps William Bavaunde, *Good Ordering of a Commonwealth*.

<sup>9</sup> Probably Dr. John Preston.

<sup>10</sup> Probably R. Bolton, *Some Generall Directions for a comfortabl: Walking with God* (London, 1624, etc.).

Two payer of newe shoes, and a payer of pumpes, 6s 6d; two payer of old shoes, 1s 6d; fether bed, boulster, and matt, 3l os od: 3 payer of pillowe beare[r]s, 6l 6s od; 2 payer of flaxen shee[t]s, 1l 4s od; 6 towells, 3s; a payer of courser sheets, 6s; one sheete, 3s; 9 napkins, 4s—Summa totall. 27l 13s 8d.

At the foot of Barker's answer is a list of books and effects which he admits having received. It contains most of the items enumerated in the schedule to the libel, together with the following books which are not in the schedule. Barker's list is full of mistakes, and is evidently drawn up by an illiterate pleader; several of his items defy attempts to identify.

Farnabe Bartholomeus upon the Counsell; Ascams plaine way of Teachin[ge]<sup>1</sup>; Everinus Phisicke; Roberts upon the 130 Psalme; Drusius his Apothegmes; A marriage prayer; Leyes and Dods Sermons; Tossanius Compendium<sup>2</sup>; A Table of Scripture; A Short Catechism; Dennisons Sermon; Coelius his Institutions; Goffs Sermons; Hornes Sermons; A smalle booke of meditacions; Goodwin upon Moyses and Aron; An Hebrew booke; A Greek grammar; Paulus Oretius<sup>3</sup>; Pastinus his Expositions; Wilsons rules<sup>4</sup>; Wilsons tracte; A Dicksionary upon the Revelacion; A smalle Treatis of our Saviours Descention to Hell<sup>5</sup>; Balthasarius Lexicon; Yeates Sermons; Desputerius<sup>6</sup>; Conradus Phisicks; Rodulphus upon the Proverbs; A Cynnocticall Annotation; Ricardus upon Luke; Ricktherus upon the Scripture; Brandimierius.

2. *Letters of John Quincy Adams to Alexander Hamilton  
Everett, 1811-1837*

(Second Installment.)<sup>7</sup>

XVI.

(Private and Confidential)

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> New-York

WASHINGTON 28. May 1825<sup>8</sup>.

My dear Sir.

Accept my thanks for your Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>d</sup> and for its enclosure. I had not the least uneasiness that the latter should remain

<sup>1</sup> Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster or Plaine Way of Teaching*.

<sup>2</sup> Daniel Tossanus, *A Synopsis or Compendium of the Fathers* (London, 1635).

<sup>3</sup> Qu. ? Orosius.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Thomas Wilson, *The Rule of Reason* (London, 1552, etc.).

<sup>5</sup> Probably Adam Hill, *The Defence of the Article: Christ descended to Hell* (London, 1592).

<sup>6</sup> Qu. ? Johannes Despauterius, *De Accentibus et Punctis*.

<sup>7</sup> For the letters of 1811-1818, I.-XV., see the preceding number of the REVIEW, XI. 88-116.

<sup>8</sup> Among President Adams's first nominations had been that of A. H. Everett as minister to Spain.

in possession of your brother; but it was too full of egotism, for me to be willing that it should fall into unfriendly hands. I am also much gratified with the scraps of newspapers, containing some of your publications the last Autumn.

If the failure of the Union ticket at the late Boston election,<sup>1</sup> is to be regretted, it is not to be wondered at, considering the manner in which it was composed. "Nullum Nymen Adest, ni sit Prudentia."

It is customary for Ministers Plenipotentiary, on delivering their Credential Letters into the hands of the Sovereign to whom they are directed, to address him in a short speech; more or less formal, according to the dispositions of the Speaker and Hearer. With this custom you will do well to conform. The Address is complimentary, and adapted to the time and circumstances of its delivery. One or two instances have occurred here during the late Administration of Ministers who read their Addresses from written papers but this is not a general usage, nor as I ever heard the practice at the Spanish Court. The Minister reports to his Government the substance, and sometimes the words of his Address—and also the purport of the Answer, which he receives to it.

I enclose a Letter for Mr Brown, at Paris.<sup>2</sup> He will shew you a copy of a recent Instruction to Mr Middleton,<sup>3</sup> relating to the Affairs of Spain and South-America. I pray you to write me freely and confidentially as often as you shall find it convenient and agreeable. My best wishes will follow you, for the success of your Mission, and for your personal comfort and welfare.

Yours affectionately J. Q. ADAMS.

XVII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq. Boston

WASHINGTON 15. April 1830.

Dear Sir.

I received a few weeks since, and have read with great satisfaction your pamphlet upon the British Opinions on the protecting system<sup>4</sup>; which are indeed the opinions of many among ourselves. I had read those wise lucubrations of the Edinburgh and Quarterly Reviewers,<sup>5</sup> which you have so effectually discussed, and had remarked the tone of dogmatism and the visage of Wisdom with which the Sophist of Dun

<sup>1</sup> The election of representatives from Boston to the Massachusetts legislature, May 10, had resulted in the choice of twenty regular Federalists, and in the defeat of a "union ticket" prepared by the Republicans and such Federalists as would join with them.

<sup>2</sup> James Brown of Louisiana, minister to France 1823 to 1829.

<sup>3</sup> Henry Middleton of South Carolina, minister to Russia 1820 to 1830.

<sup>4</sup> *British Opinions upon the Protective System* (Boston, 1830); reprinted from the *North American Review*, XXX. 160.

<sup>5</sup> "The American Tariff," *Edinburgh Review*, December, 1828; "Commerce of the United States and West Indies," *Quarterly Review*, January, 1829.

Edin dealt out his ignorance and absurdity. But the exposure of them in your Article surpasses my expectation. Your brother informs me that the author of the Edinburgh Article is a Lecturer upon Political Economy.<sup>1</sup> I take it for granted he will see either the Article in the North American, or your pamphlet, and that we shall hear from him again on the subject. Handled as he has been it is scarcely possible that he should reply without falling into a passion—and then he will make an auditory to witness his discomfiture.

You quote in a note, a paragraph in my last Message to Congress,<sup>2</sup> with a question of its correctness. My position was not intended as you conjecture, for particular or local application; and was disconnected entirely from any reference to Navigation. I believe the difference between us must be found in the definition of the words *value* and *equivalents*. You are so much deeper in the theories of political economy than I have been, that I distrust my own judgment, and suspect I may have uttered an error, where I should rather have expected to be charged with having propounded a truism.

During the twelve years which succeeded my last return from Europe, my time was so totally absorbed in official Studies and duties that I had none left for devotion to general Literature; nor even to pursue the progress of the Science of Political Economy. After reading your controversy with Malthus,<sup>3</sup> I had set him aside, as very doubtful authority; and although I had for several years Ricardo's book upon my shelf, I never found a moment to look into it, nor even into that of our Countryman Mr Raymond. Neither of these Books is now within my reach—nor Say, nor my friend Count De Stutt Tracy; and my utter inability to follow the course of the renowned Periodicals, till within the last four Months has left me so to seek on this momentous subject that I knew nothing even of Malthus's Definitions,<sup>4</sup> till I perceived in this new Article of your's that there was such a book, and that it had been reviewed by you, in the North-American. I then hunted up the North American for last April,<sup>5</sup> and there to be sure I find much discussion upon the value of value, and some disagreement between you and Mr Malthus about it. I discover moreover that there is a book in sundry Chapters, called "a Critical Dissertation upon Value"<sup>6</sup> which, if I should ever get a sight of it, I hope will not perform the office of that antient Judge in the Paradise Lost who "by decision more embroils the fray". My meaning of the word Value was much nearer the surface.

<sup>1</sup> J. R. McCulloch.

<sup>2</sup> A paragraph affirming it to be "a general law of prosperous commerce, that the real value of exports should by a small, and only a small, balance exceed that of imports, that balance being a permanent addition to the wealth of the nation." See *North American Review*, XXX. 198.

<sup>3</sup> A. H. Everett, *New Ideas on Population, with Remarks on the Theories of Malthus and Godwin* (Boston, 1823, 1826).

<sup>4</sup> *Definitions in Political Economy* (London, 1827).

<sup>5</sup> "Political Economy," *North American Review*, XXVIII. 368.

<sup>6</sup> [Samuel Bailey], *A Critical Dissertation on the Nature, Measures and Causes of Value* (London, 1825).

I take this occasion to assure you of the pleasure with which I learnt that you had taken the *North American* into your own hands. I thought it was falling into bad management, especially upon certain topics of our revolutionary history and of present domestic policy. I do not flatter myself that I shall be able to concur in all the doctrines political, metaphysical or poetical, which will mark the future career of this miscellany; but I shall be relieved from the apprehension that it will become the medium for the circulation of time-serving morality or perverted history.<sup>1</sup>

Your brother mentioned to me, that you had applied to him for an Article for the July number of the Review, upon the Tape-worm debate in the Senate of the United States, which is voiding all the sense and nonsense, all the wit and dulness, all the Patriotism and Scoundrelism of that body, with its commingled fragrance and fetidity to salute the nostrils of the Nation, and he asked me to undertake this service in his stead. I desired him to excuse me<sup>2</sup>; first from a doubt whether the whole worm would ever be evacuated, Secondly from a probability that its parcels will be still appearing at least during all the present Session of Congress, but thirdly and chiefly because I believed such an Article as I should write, would not suit your views, nor perhaps the temporal Interests of the Review itself. If I should write the Article it would be too bold for the temper of the Times, and would adapt itself to no one of the political parties militant. It would deal with them all more in truth than, in policy, and would mask neither the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, nor the Hartford Convention Resolutions of 1815. Nor the Colleton<sup>3</sup> and Edgefield<sup>4</sup> Resolutions of 1829.<sup>4</sup> They are all Chips of the same Block, and there is no great political party in this Country but at some time or other has made to itself a God, of this "inutile lignum".

I know not whether your brother or you will even think it advisable fully to expose the mutual surrender of the Public Lands to the West, and of the American System to the South, both at the expense of all the rest of the Union, of which this debate has revealed the project. This is the practical application of the doctrine that any one State has a right to nullify any act of Congress which the State Legislature may please to pronounce Unconstitutional. This is the Key to the creed that Robbery is an attribute of Sovereignty, and that a State may declare itself the owner of all the Lands within its borders. Georgia by virtue of this doctrine, nullifies the Laws of Congress and the Treaties that promise protection to Indian tribes; South-Carolina nullifies the Tariff.

<sup>1</sup> From 1824 to 1830 Jared Sparks had edited the *North American Review*.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Adams seems never to have contributed to the *North American Review*.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is probably made to "An Address of sundry Citizens of Colleton district to the people of the state of South Carolina," drawn up June 12, 1828 (the Walterborough address). See *Niles' Register*, XXXIV. 288.

<sup>4</sup> The Edgefield, South Carolina, resolutions of July 26, 1828, are found *ibid.*, XXXV. 60.

Missouri nullifies all the Land Laws—and takes the Lands into her own keeping. They all nullify the Power of the Supreme Court. The Executive of the Union bows in submission; and majorities of both Houses present that beautiful Spectacle of a Government disrobing itself, of its own powers. Meantime Massachusetts is mulcted in a Million of dollars, because her Legislature and judges nullified an Act of Congress sixteen or seventeen years since, and the Hartford Convention, for recommending the nullification of certain other Acts of the same body, is turned over to an Independent Court Martial and the second Section. Whether you will take this view of the Senatorial debate or not, it is in my mind by far the most important light in which it is to be considered; for if the sacrifice of the property in the Public Lands, and of the cause and interest of free labour, is not already consummated beyond redemption, nothing can save them but a complete and fearless exposure of the nefarious conspiracy now in the full tide of successful experiment against them.

For the sake of the Union, and of honest Politics, I rejoice that this Subject must occupy, and summon to action all the faculties of your mind, and all the virtues of your heart—if not as a Reviewer, at least as a Legislator—and this is one of my Reasons for congratulating our Country and our native Commonwealth upon your Election to the Senate of the State.<sup>1</sup> I have just received your "*Politics of Europe*"—but have only space to assure you of the continued regard and attachment of your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

#### XVIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON 11. May 1830

Dear Sir

They used to tell a Story of a Bailly in some village of France, who upon the passage of Henri quatre through his jurisdiction felt himself under the awkward necessity of apologizing for the omission of a cannonade in his honour. He commenced a set Speech to His Majesty by assuring him that there were seven reasons why they had not welcomed his arrival by the sound of the Cannon—the first of which was that they had no Cannon to fire. Whereupon Le Roi Henri gravely observed to the village Magistrate that he would dispense with the assignment of the six remaining Reasons, being altogether satisfied with the first.

I have at least as many reasons as the worthy Bailly, for withholding the promise to furnish you regularly with an Article for the successive numbers of your Review; and I hope you will be as indulgent to me, as the Béarnois was to him, when I say that the condition of my health is the first. And as a portion of my health, there must be included a certain waywardness of disposition, humouring caprices in the

<sup>1</sup> Everett served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1830 to 1835.

<sup>2</sup> *North American Review*, XXX. 399, Everett's third article of that title for that journal.

application of my time—So that instead of refusing like Shakespear's Knight to give Reasons upon compulsion, I am more likely to give them in no other manner. I hope and trust it may be in my power to supply you occasionally with an Article; but whether for so soon as October, may be doubtful. I intreat you therefore to make provision for that number, without depending upon me; and if I should have one prepared so that it might come into that number, it shall be at your service to employ then or for the number next ensuing as may suit your convenience.

The subject upon which my own inclination at present dwells, as that which it would be most agreeable to me to treat would be a biographical account of our late Charge d'Affaires at the Court of Brazil, William Tudor. Biography, does not come strictly within the plan of your Review; but it seems to me that a short account of the life of him who was the founder, first proprietor and Editor of the work itself, far from being out of place, would be peculiarly suited to it. The establishment and continuance to this time of the North-American Review, forms itself an Epocha in the history of our Literature, the occasion of advertising to which would naturally present itself in a Life of Mr Tudor; and some critical, perhaps some political observations would naturally arise from an appropriate notice of the Articles in the Review written by him, as well as of his other published writings.

Mr Tudor's Mother and Sister Mrs Stewart, are my next-door neighbours at this place. In compliance with a request from them, I have written a short notice for the National Intelligencer, but which is a mere newspaper Article. The one which I should propose for the Review, would perhaps be as long as one of your usual Articles. But to prepare it I should want much information which is to be obtained only from the friends and acquaintance of Mr Tudor in Boston. If you approve of my design, I shall need your assistance to procure it.

I am very glad to learn that Charles is entering upon the field with you, and particularly that he begins with Grahame's history.<sup>1</sup> It is incomparably the best account that has ever been published of our early Settlements, and as he is the first historian who has done Justice to our forefathers I hope the North-American Review will be the first to do ample Justice to him.

I thank you for the kind expression of your opinions and dispositions with regard to the new trust in which we both stand associated in the Government of the concerns of our University.<sup>2</sup> Some improvement in the regulation of its affairs has been generally thought necessary, and expected by the public. Mr Quincy has also been sensible of this necessity, and as I have understood is impressed with the Spirit rather

<sup>1</sup> Grahame's *History of the United States* was reviewed by Charles Francis Adams in the *North American Review*, XXXII. 174.

<sup>2</sup> President Adams had lately been chosen a member of the Board of Overseers of Harvard University.

of renovation than of innovation. I shall be happy to give him for that purpose all the aid in my power.

I had fully intended and expected to be at my residence in Quincy a month earlier than this; but a very comfortable situation here, and an obstinate Catarrhal complaint succeeded by rhumatic symptoms, have detained me for some weeks, though I still purpose to migrate northward before the close of this Month. I shall rely upon the pleasure of seeing you upon my return, and shall be glad to receive the subsequent numbers of the North-American Review, there, rather than here.

Do you intend to suffer the Article in the last number, upon the Jefferson Correspondence,<sup>1</sup> to pass for the New-England critical and political *judgment* concerning that work?

Yours faithfully

J. Q. ADAMS.

XIX.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON 24 May 1830.<sup>2</sup>

Dear Sir.

I reply to your Letter of the 17<sup>th</sup> though at the eve of my return to Quincy, where I hope to arrive at a time when you will be much occupied with public business. But as the Session of the Legislature will be short I expect to see you not long after my arrival,—and we may then freely converse upon topics too comprehensive to be discussed in Letters of *conscionable* dimensions.

I had no intention to write an Article upon the Jefferson Correspondence for the Review, but I was certainly not satisfied with the Article upon it in the last number. Mr Jefferson had a *mind*. I did hope to see in the North-American Review at least traces of a *Mind* capable of grappling with it. In the published Article, there is abundance of liberality. But the errors of Mr Jefferson in Religion and Politics are not of that harmless Class which may be encountered with equivocal opposition or hesitating dissent. There is a mode of defending which has the effect of surrendering a Cause. The Reviewer professes to disapprove some of Mr Jefferson's Religious opinions, but does not tell us what they are—but he approves his practice and recommendation of free enquiry, or free thinking—admires his total disregard of all human authority, and his studious avoidance of quoting the opinion of any other as the motive or foundation of his own; and is half-inclined to regard this lofty consciousness of superiority over other minds as a new discovery in religious morals.

<sup>1</sup> Article in the *North American Review*, XXX. 511, for April, 1830, by A. Ritchie, on the Randolph edition of the *Memoirs and Correspondence of Thomas Jefferson*.

<sup>2</sup> Most of this letter, and one passage in the next, was printed, without mention of the person addressed, in *Old and New* for February, 1873, VII. 135-136. Nevertheless, for the sake of continuity, it is here reprinted.



The writer of the Article, favours his readers with much commonplace argument, upon the reasonableness of free and unlimited enquiry, and commends Mr Jefferson, for advising his young friend to examine the first-principles of *natural* religion for himself, and not to adopt without examination the principles of *another*.

It is not difficult to discern where all this leads. The Reviewer does not or will not discern it. But observe—*Examination* is one thing—*Rejection* of all human authority is another. Mr Jefferson examined much less than he rejected. He never examined the evidences of Christianity. He rejected it as an imposture. Rejected it, not by the dictate of his own mind, but upon mere perusal of the bible, under the influence of the infidel School of his own and the immediately preceding age—Bolingbroke, Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and the rest of that gang. What he meant by examination, was treating the Bible like Tooke's Pantheon—studying all the fashionable atheists of the age; and never looking into the writers in favour of Christianity. So far was Mr Jefferson from encouraging or recommending examination into the truth of the Christian Religion, that he founded his University, with a cold, professed, and systematic exclusion of all theological studies from the institution.

He who recommends to a young man, a total rejection of human authority in the pursuit of his enquiries after religious truth, ought if not in Modesty, at least in consistency to include his own authority with the rest. And perhaps it would be quite as good advice to the natural impetuosity of youth to guard the juvenile enquirer against the possible illusions of his own mind, as against the opinions of *all* the rest of mankind. The rejection of all human authority, in the formation of our religious opinions, is as unphilosophical, as the blindest confidence in an infallible Church. Examination is good; but it must be thorough. An University without theological Studies, however favourable to free thinking is but a sorry commentary upon free Inquiry.

Mr Jefferson was not willing that all his opinions upon Religion should be known to the world in his Life-time. He sometimes intrenched himself in his Castle, and insisted upon his right to keep his opinions to himself. When Dr Priestley was a *political* Apostle for him, he was prepared to pass for a Unitarian, and preferred the moral precepts of Jesus to those of Moses, or of Socrates or of any other antient philosopher. But he was always as hostile to the whole system of Christianity as the temper of popular opinion in this Country would endure. He occasionally *betrayed* his belief in the independent existence of matter, and he had no faith in a future state of retribution, though he never very explicitly avowed this part of his doctrines.

His opinions upon the judiciary, and his rancour against all judges, deserve searching scrutiny and fearless exposure, nearly as much as his religious infidelity. And the nullification doctrine, which may shiver this Union to atoms is the child of his own conception. It was like most of his political opinions a doctrine adopted and propagated to promote

his own views and prospects of ambition, at a particular time; and did effectually promote them. As to his Construction of the Constitution and his tender regard for State Rights, his annexation of Louisiana to the Union, by Acts of Congress, with his signature, and his Cumberland Road, are quite as authoritative of what he could *do*, as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of what he could *say*.

Mr Jefferson's *infidelity*, his *anti-judicialism*, and his *nullification*, were three great and portentous Errors. I did hope that the Cause of the Cross, the Cause of *Justice*, and the Cause of the American Union, would have found in the North-American Review, a head and heart capable of defending them against the insidious and therefore more formidable assault of his posthumous Correspondence. As to the Lamb-like meekness with which the remnants of the Hartford Convention stomach his new, and gross denunciations of them, let it pass, if so my friend shall think just and fair, for *liberality*.

That these great Errors should be probed to the bottom, and exposed in their naked nature I do believe to be highly necessary. We have had recent experience here, of the use which some of the most desperate profligates upon Earth are making of his name and authority, to kindle a conflagration in the confusion of which they may consummate their schemes of public robbery, and enthral the free blood of this Union in bondage to its Slavery. Now is not a time for New-England to close her eyes, upon what is passing in this Confederation before them, nor to wink at the jugglery practising upon her simplicity, under the name, the countenance and the authority of Jefferson.

For the Mulatto doctrine of political economy, which proves that two thirds of the federal revenue consists of a tax upon the *export* of Cotton, I commend you to the speech of Mr M'Duffie now in a course of publication in the National Intelligencer. You will see that this rare political economist falls foul of you among others. He is also one of the champions of nullification, and tells some of our good natured members that if Congress will not repeal the Tariff, the Legislature of South-Carolina will. I am told that Mr Gorham and Mr Davis<sup>1</sup> answered both his argument and his swaggering, but their speeches have not yet been published. I have heard much also of a Speech of your brother's—but that was perhaps on the Indian question, which is prejudged. I have not seen him, I think for more than a Month. He is so much and so well engaged that I would not intrude upon him.

Your faithful friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XX.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT. Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston—

QUINCY 18. Sept<sup>r</sup> 1831.

*My dear Sir.*

In compliance with my promise and your request I send you the Manuscript which I had prepared in reply to Mr H. G. Otis and his

<sup>1</sup> Benjamin Gorham and John Davis, of Massachusetts.

twelve confederates, or rather to himself alone, he being on that occasion my only real adversary.<sup>1</sup> It was written under circumstances so deeply afflictive and feelings so far beyond the reach of his pigmy Soul to excite, that it would not be fit for public inspection without severe revision. It was never intended for publication without such revision, and I now commit in friendly confidence its perusal to you, only with the condition that you will return it, with all the passages marked, of which you would advise the omission, and with such other observations as your friendship and judgment may suggest.

I am well pleased that your proposed Article upon Nullification in the North American Review, should be postponed, to embrace the examination of Mr Calhoun's new Theory, in connection with my Oration.<sup>2</sup> This has already been severely criticised from various quarters, and among the rest from Head-quarters. I am told that a critic in the Salem Gazette, charges me with having borrowed my expositions of the *united* Declaration of Independence from Mr Dane. I did not borrow them from Mr Dane, but from the Paper itself, and from personal knowledge of the Time. Mr Dane had the same opinion drawn from the same Sources: he no more borrowed it from me than I borrowed it from him, as is well known to Judge Story. But if you will read with attention what Mr Dane says upon the subject, in his Supplement,<sup>3</sup> you will see an intelligible concession that this doctrine was somewhat overlooked at the Hartford Convention.

Mr Dane has so nobly redeemed that error, both by this concession, and by his magnificent benefaction to our University, that base would be the heart which could reproach him with it now; and among my motives for suppressing hitherto my enclosed manuscript, not the least has been, a reluctance, at baring thus to the bone, in the face of the world, the character and proceedings of an Assembly of which we know that he was an unwilling member.

I have sent to Mr Calhoun a copy of my Eulogy upon Mr Monroe, and with it one of my Oration, which I had not at first done, lest he should think it was meant as a cast of the glove. With the two pamphlets, I have written him a few lines disclaiming all other than friendly intentions in offering them, but with the hope that his answer may give opening to a further exposition by himself of his present Sentiments with regard to the Union.

<sup>1</sup> The pamphlet alluded to is the famous *Correspondence between John Quincy Adams, Esquire, President of the United States, and several Citizens of Massachusetts, concerning the Charge of a Design to dissolve the Union* (Boston, 1829) put forth by Otis and others. The manuscript alluded to, Adams's "Reply to the Appeal of the Massachusetts Federalists," first saw the light of print in 1877, when published by Mr. Henry Adams in his *Documents relating to New England Federalism*.

<sup>2</sup> Adams's oration at Quincy, July 4, 1831, in which he inveighed against the nullifiers.

<sup>3</sup> Appendix to Vol. IX. of Dane's *Abridgment*.

Mr Madison's Letter to your brother<sup>1</sup> upon the Virginia Resolutions of 1798. and 1799. also contains a concession which I deem of no trivial importance. "It may often happen, says he, as experience proves, that erroneous constructions, not anticipated, may not be sufficiently guarded against in the language used." I consider him also as substantially admitting that the great object of those Resolutions was *electioneering* for Mr Jefferson. That this was their great object I have always believed, and as he remarks it was effectually answered. Neither your brother,<sup>2</sup> nor Mr Webster has ventured in treating of those Resolutions *note*, to analyse them with a critical scrutiny of their language and import as affected by this purpose for which they were prepared; to which they were adapted, and by which they were stimulated. I know not whether it will be within *your* plan to subject them to the discipline of *that* investigation, but I will not disguise the opinion, that no unanswerable refutation of the nullification principle can be exhibited without it. I presume it might be conducted with all the respect, and even delicacy so justly due to Mr Madison.

Mr Jefferson too is entitled to great Respect—though after the conduct of his last days and the posthumous publication of his writings, delicacy towards him from New-England, is an exemplification of something more than Christian meekness and forbearance. The Review of that work in the North-American, I have heard was written at the solicitation of his grand-daughter's husband, and that is the best way that I know of accounting for its character. "Time, (says Voltaire)" which vindicates the characters of great men, finishes by "rendering even their faults respectable.[""] Of such respectability Mr Jefferson has a very unreasonable share, and if the prudent servility of New-England Literature suffers it to accumulate without energetic remonstrance *she* will feel its consequences, in every vein and artery and sinew and bone of her population. Your brother has noticed his courteous reason for preserving the Union—to keep New-England, as a plaything to buffet, and quarrel with; and the complimentary anecdotes about leading New-England federalists in the *Ara*—but I have seen those same federalists, not ashamed of linking themselves to the crazy Chariot wheels of My Lord Mayor, that he might ride over my neck, at the moment when he thought me prostrate forever; and silent—silent—chap-fallen as the skull of Yorick the King's jester, under charges in these writings of Jefferson, that their darling champions were bribed by British gold.

You will find in the enclosed manuscript that I have handled him not quite so gently as your brother Edward. He deserves nothing but rigorous Justice from *me*—and that he shall always have. He was a great Man—but his characteristic vice was duplicity—a vice which originated in his overweening passion for popularity, and his consequent

<sup>1</sup> Letter of August, 1830, to Edward Everett. See it in *Letters and other Writings of James Madison*, IV. 95–105.

<sup>2</sup> Edward Everett's article on the "Debate in the Senate", *North American Review*, XXXI. 462.

desire to be all things to all men. As to his Constitutional puritanism—to say nothing of the Cumberland Road, the man who with the Oath of God upon his Soul, after writing his Letter to Dr Sibley upon the Louisiana purchase, could sign the Bills extending the Laws of the United States over that Territory comes with an ill-grace to claim a narrow Construction of the Powers of Congress.

I need not add the assurance or the injunction of perfect Confidence in which this Letter is written, by your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXI.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

QUINCY 18. August 1832

*Dear Sir.*

It may not be in my power to meet you according to your kind invitation at 4 in the afternoon of Monday, but I shall probably visit Boston in the course of the week, and will then not fail to call at your house, where I shall be happy to converse with you on the subject to which your Letter refers. I regretted much last year that the Anti-Masons of this Commonwealth, thought it necessary to nominate and support for Governor a Candidate other than the incumbent,<sup>1</sup> and expressly declined their nomination, declaring my approbation of the general course of his Administration. Could I now contribute to his re-election for the ensuing year, I would most cheerfully yield every suitable aid in my power.

With regard to the Electoral ticket for the Presidential Election, I incline to the opinion that having reference to both my Situations past and present I ought not to meddle with it at all. I have been earnestly solicited to deliver a public address to the Anti-Masons, to attend as a delegate at their projected Convention at Worcester, or to countenance them merely by my presence; all which I have declined. At the Election of 1824. it was a received Moral and Political Maxim of the National Republicans, that Caucusing by members of Congress, for the Election of a President was improper; and virtually forbidden by the Constitution, which disqualifies them from serving in the Electoral Colleges. I was of that opinion myself and avowed it. I have seen no occasion to change the opinion, and see none now.

With respect to conciliating the Anti-Masons in this Commonwealth, though it is rather late for the National Republicans to begin, it may be better late than never. I most sincerely and heartily wish that they would. The National Republicans of this Commonwealth have not understood—they do not and I fear *will not* understand the State of the

<sup>1</sup> Levi Lincoln. The history of antimasonry in Massachusetts, and of Adams's relation to it, may be followed in Dr. Charles McCarthy's monograph, "The Antimasonic Party," in the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1902, I. 516-525.

Masonic and Anti-Masonic Question. About a year ago the Grand Lodge of Rhode-Island, published a formal *defence of Masonry*, in which they said they could not tell whether Morgan had been murdered or not for *they knew nothing about it*. I have read a declaration published on the last day of the last year, signed by twelve hundred Masons of this our own State who speak of a high state of excitement which *had been* in the public mind, carried to it "by the *partial and inflammatory* representations of *certain offences* committed by a *few misguided members* of the Masonic Institution in a Sister State". The National Republicans of Massachusetts know nothing about these *certain Offences*, but they have for two years past taken most especial care to turn out of office every Anti-Mason upon whom they could lay their hands, all the while, bitterly complaining of the persecuting and proscriptive Spirit of political Anti-Masonry.

The cause of Anti-Masonry must and will survive the next Presidential-Election. And if the National Republicans of Massachusetts really wish for the co-operation of Anti-Masons, I have no doubt they can obtain it. Whether they can agree upon a ticket for the Presidential Election now so near at hand is doubtful in my mind, but I take it for granted that for this time the National Republicans can carry their Elections without them. The Masonic Declaration of last Winter, to which I have alluded considers the Anti-Masonic excitement as having subsided, and they certainly did appear then to have lost ground in this State, and at least to have gained none in the States of New-York and Pennsylvania. There is now an apparent Union of the two parties in New-York, but whether it will be cordial or successful is very problematical. The National Republicans there, are more sanguine than the Anti-Masons, and there are wounds between them not easily to be healed. You know how it is here.

Upon the Subject of Anti-Masonry, I have not suffered myself to be excited, although there has been no lack of provocations. But I *do* know something about the *Masonic Murder of Morgan*, and the *Cluster of Crimes* perpetrated for the suppression of his Book. I know something also of the Laws, Oaths, Obligations and Penalties of Masonry, and I have not been unobservant of their practical effect, from murder under the sealed obligations down to the prevarication of pretending that to have the throat cut from ear to ear *means* expulsion from the Lodge. If the Masonic controversy were now raging in Cochin-China, and the name of Hiram Abiff had never been heard upon this Continent, the Subject would be worthy of investigation as a philosophical enquiry into the mysteries of human nature. I have endeavoured to consider it as a question upon the first principles of morals. I have sought for the facts from the Masonic as well as from the Anti-Masonic side, and have read Henry Brown as well as Avery Allyn and David Bernard.<sup>1</sup> Coll

<sup>1</sup> Henry Brown, *Narrative of the Anti-Masonick Excitement in the Western Part of the State* (Batavia, New York, 1829); David Bernard, *Light on Masonry* (Utica, 1829).

Stone's Letters,<sup>1</sup> which you have doubtless seen, were addressed to me, in consequence of enquiries which I had addressed to a brother Mason of his in Philadelphia, which were communicated to him. Stone is a Knight Templar, and as you know a very ardent National Republican. His Masonic Spirit lingers with him through his whole book, but he is an honest man, unperverted, even by the fifth libation; and a bold one, or he never would have dared to proclaim the Truths contained in those Letters. I ask your particular attention to the Letters from 21. to 25 inclusive, and to the 48<sup>th</sup> and I wish you would recommend the perusal of them, to those of your National Republican friends who are accessible to reason upon this Subject. I abstain purposely from any public manifestation of opinion upon this topic, to avoid all appearance of interfering with the approaching Presidential Election.

Faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

QUINCY 23. July 1833

*My dear Sir*

I have delayed answering your friendly Letter of the 12<sup>th</sup> inst<sup>t</sup> under an expectation of the pleasure of meeting you in Boston, or here, and of conversing with you freely on the subject to which it relates.

But as this may be farther delayed, I write to relieve you from all suspense with regard to the arrangements which you may deem it expedient to make.

Reflection tends from day to day to confirm my impressions against consenting to be a candidate for the Office of Governor of the Commonwealth. My principal objections arise from a conviction that the questions between Masonry and Anti-Masonry will constitute the main objects of political controversy within the Commonwealth during the ensuing year; and that in the operation which they must have upon the Affairs of the State, I could not possibly hold the balance between the parties so as to give satisfaction to the People of the State, or indeed to either of the parties, in collision with each other. A sharply contested Election, succeeded by a turbulent administration, and a furious renewal of the contest at the end of the year, is all that I could expect for myself or anticipate for the public. "Le jeu ne vaut pas la chandelle".

I am as you know, of long standing an outlaw to the federal party and especially to its leaders in this State. I am worse than an Outlaw in the estimation of the Masons and Masonic Party; and they constitute between them three fourths of the People. Concurring with the general Opinions of the National Republicans with regard to the interests involved in the Administration of the general Government I may hope to represent them with Satisfaction to them and to myself in Congress;

<sup>1</sup> William L. Stone, *Letters on Masonry and Antimasonry*, addressed to Hon. John Quincy Adams (New York, 1832).



it is morally certain that I could not represent them to their Satisfaction as Governor of the State, and I perceive no attainable end, of inducement to try an experiment with anticipation approaching to certainty of its ultimate failure. Here, in my Solitude, disburthened of all responsibility for public measures I enjoy a tranquility for which no political elevation encumbered with its cares and vexations can compensate; and whatever of selfishness there may be in this Consideration, I see no stake of public welfare, to be contended for, which should forbid me to indulge it. Feeble and inefficient as my Services may be in the Legislative Councils of the Union, I am convinced they would be more so, in the Executive of the Commonwealth.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIII.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston

QUINCY 24. September 1833

*My dear Sir.*

In accepting the nomination recently tendered to me by the Convention held at Boston,<sup>1</sup> I deemed it proper to state for the Consideration of the People of the Commonwealth the Principles upon which I acceded to that measure—the only Principles upon which I would accept of any nomination or of the Office to which the nomination applied. The first of these Principles was that of merging all party Spirit and feeling, in the general interest of the whole Commonwealth. The next was contributing as far as might be in my Power, to heal the divisions of party, to promote the harmony of the Union, and to maintain the Industry of Freedom and the purity of the Constitution.

You have perfectly understood the meaning of this pledge; and you are well acquainted with my principles in reference to this subject from other and anterior sources. Intelligent men cannot and candid men will not misunderstand them. To others no explanation or developement of them would be satisfactory. On full deliberation, appretiating the motive of your communication, and estimating the high value of your friendship, I can only repeat what I then said; adding merely the assurance that I am accustomed to understand and construe my promises according to the unequivocal import of the words in which they are conveyed, and that you are at liberty to make such use of this Letter as you may think proper.

I am, Dear Sir, ever faithfully your friend

J. Q. ADAMS.

XXIV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Boston.

WASHINGTON 1. December 1835

*Dear Sir.*

I have received your Letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> ult<sup>o</sup> mentioning that you had given a Letter of introduction to me to Mr Fisk late Editor of the

<sup>1</sup> Antimasonic. McCarthy, *op. cit.*, p. 520.



*Reformer* Newspaper. He has not yet delivered the Letter, and I have not heard of his arrival here. I think I have recently heard something of the Paper, but do not recollect ever having seen it. What were the *Reforms*, which it patronized or recommended?

There have been of late years a goodly number of Editors and correspondents of the daily Journals in most of the Northern cities who have passed their winters at Washington, and who from time to time have entertained the public with intelligence from the Metropolis of the Union. I find it announced that the Editor of the Bangor Whig and Courier, and one of the Editors of the Boston Atlas are to be of the corresponding corps during the approaching Session of Congress. Judging of the future from the past it may be expected that their communications will be sufficiently indicative of the purposes for which they are employed, and of the services they are to perform. Whether Mr Fisk proposes to pass the winter here, or is to be a correspondent of any Journalist, I may probably learn from himself.

It gives me pleasure to learn that you also propose to pay a visit here in the course of the Winter. It will be an interesting object to you to know what the different parties which will be assembled here have in prospect before them; and what the result of all their collisions and combinations will be likely to turn out. As yet we see little more than the crumbling of the political parties as they have existed under this administration, into ruin. There must be during the approaching Session of Congress a new composition of parties, and it is scarcely possible yet to foresee what that will be.

Mr Van Buren is the candidate of the Democracy—so self styled; and although that party have not always been true to their name, and have often mistaken their friends for their foes, and vice versa, they have when acting in concert always ruled the Country; and always bestowed the great Offices of Government Legislative and Executive. But Democracy, in our history, has hitherto been the great Engine of the South to controul and manage the affairs of the whole Union. Heretofore they have succeeded in all but two instances in securing the Presidency to one of their own number, and the Office of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States has also for the last thirty-five years been held by one of them. *He* was however not of the democracy. He was a federalist, and by his great talents, and his personal influence and popularity has during the whole of that time held the democracy in check. There is every reason to fear that this state of things is now to be reversed. That the next Chief Justice will be not only a Southern Slave holder, but a convert from rank federalism to rank democracy and a man of exceedingly doubtful moral principle.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, if the democracy of the South go for Van Buren, he will certainly be elected. There are indications favourable to him both in the South and the West, the sources of which I look to with some distrust. A North-

<sup>1</sup> The allusion is to Taney.

ern man, elected by Southern and Western Democracy presents no very auspicious futurity for the local interests and even the rights of the North. Mr Van Buren is pledged to support the principles of the Jackson Administration—Pledged to uncompromising hostility to the Bank of the United States—pledged to unqualified Anti-Slavery abolition—Pledged I greatly fear to sacrifice the Public Lands to the grasping temper of the new Western States. I have no personal relations with him beyond the exchange of a visit or a card, and seek none. You have not the same motives for keeping aloof from him; and when you come here, you will have opportunities of meeting and conversing with him, and of satisfying yourself whether upon the cardinal points of policy to which I have alluded, better hopes can be entertained than I have been able to conceive or to encourage.

The opposition to Van Buren consists 1. Of part of the Southern democracy; deserters from Jacksonism, in two divisions. One of Calhoun nullifiers, chiefly confined to South-Carolina, but entirely controuling that State. The other of *White* Tennesseans, drawn off from the same party, by the late Speaker John Bell. They will probably unite all the *servile* votes of the South. I mean all the votes which will be biassed exclusively by Slave-holding passion, prejudice and panic—and they will not be few. These two divisions will perhaps melt up into one. 2. Of Western *Clay* Democrats—or rather of all the Clay Democrats. This party got up the late Baltimore triumphal banquet, and the Meeting at Philadelphia, headed by Col! Watmough and Josiah Randall. This party appears to be now very weak; and likely to be overawed into submission to another. 3. The Webster federalists. All the remnants of blue-light federalism have rallied together and made Webster their forlorn hope. Clay as you know rose upon the broadest shoulders of democracy. But his European Expedition tinged both his principles and his deportment with Aristocracy—perhaps to the improvement of his character, but to the loss of his standing with the Democracy. It is now again said that he will yield his pretensions as a Candidate for the Presidency; and that his party will support Webster. As it is very certain that neither of them can be elected, it may be Mr Clay's policy to acquiesce in giving Mr Webster the chief command, with the certainty of defeat. Nothing else can possibly effect the amalgamation of Clay democracy with Webster federalism. 4. The Pennsylvania and perhaps the Vermont Anti-masons. In both States however the Anti-masons are exceedingly divided, and I think there is no prospect of their uniting upon any Candidate for the Presidency. The result may be to break up the anti-masonic party in both those States. 5. The Wolf portion of the Pennsylvania democracy. I believe it was the opposition to Van Buren, which principally, if not wholly caused the schism between the Wolf and Muhlenberg democrats. Whether they can be reunited or not can scarcely be foreseen till the meeting of Congress, and of the Legislature of Pennsylvania. It is needless to say that of these five parties all opposed to Van Buren, there are no two that hold any

great political principle in common. Most of them call themselves whigs, only for the sake of calling their adversaries Tories.

The Antimasons of Massachusetts after presenting to the whigs a Candidate for the Office of Governor,<sup>1</sup> and uniting with them to elect him, have wisely withdrawn from all further association with them, especially with regard to the Presidency. The Government of the State is yet in the hands of the Whigs, but how they will manage it is subject to ominous conjecture. The mere Jackson party has not only been a very small, but internally a much divided party, with this peculiar property that the interest and the policy of its leaders has been to keep the party as small as possible; to engross all the lucrative offices to themselves. How far Mr Van Buren will be disposed to countenance and sustain this policy, I am unable to say. You will have no difficulty however in ascertaining, if you come here in the course of the winter.

The whigs of Boston have done themselves no service by relieving you from your labours as a member of the Legislature. They will call for them again when they get rid of some of their *Notions*. I have read with much interest your Speech in Faneuil-Hall, and have been amused with the castigation, of the Daily Advertiser, and Centinel for having dared to publish it. In what condition must a party be driven to such expedients to gag the freedom of their own Press? What must be the moral principle of a party, so convulsed at the admission of every ray of light? I perceive they are shockingly scandalized too at your consenting to deliver an Address at Salem, on the 8<sup>th</sup> of January.<sup>2</sup> Their treachery to you sits heavy on their Souls; and as usual they are labouring to transform it into your treachery to them.

I trust you will hold the even tenour of your way, heedless alike of their censure or their applause. Whoever adheres to *principle*, must make up his mind to be charged with inconsistency and apostasy for every refusal to be hand-cuffed with the manacles of party, and when allegiance to men, is made the only standard of political orthodoxy, the praise or blame of the hirelings of the press, stimulated from behind the Scenes and paid for by the paragraph are equally worthless and contemptible.

I am, Dear Sir, very respectfully yours J. Q. ADAMS.

XXV.

ALEXANDER H. EVERETT Esq.<sup>1</sup> Boston

WASHINGTON 10 May 1836

My dear Sir

Your Letter of the 29<sup>th</sup> ult.<sup>o</sup> from Norfolk House Roxbury has been some days received. Your new arrangements with regard to your future residence, seem to me in every point of view judicious, and I heartily wish you may find them result as successfully to yourself as you can

<sup>1</sup> Edward Everett.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander H. Everett, *An Address delivered at Salem, on the Eighth of January, 1836, in Commemoration of the Victory of New Orleans* (Boston, 1836).

desire. The treatment which you have received from the political party with which since your last return from Europe you have been associated has given me more and deeper concern than that which I have experienced from them myself. As a man so much younger, and with a long career of capacity for public usefulness before you, I have felt your removal from the service of our Country as a misfortune to her, while my own, at this time can scarcely be an anticipation of the natural and necessary course of Events. Whether your residence in the County of Norfolk, will by the Constitution of the Commonwealth be of sufficient duration to make you eligible from that District to Congress at the ensuing election next November, I cannot say, but as I understand Mr Jackson<sup>1</sup> intends to decline being a candidate for re-election, nothing could give me more cordial pleasure than that you should be his successor. What the state of parties in the District will be cannot even now be very clearly foreseen. The Presidential Election would seem to be ascertained, by the result of the recent elections in Connecticut, Rhode-Island and Virginia, though some doubts are said to have arisen from adverse indications in those of New-York, and though new questions of very grave and threatening aspect, are starting up, as if by evil enchantment, which may yet have unexpected bearings upon the issue of the Election. A knot of Florida Indians, probably not five hundred, perhaps not three hundred in number have absorbed all the energies of our whole standing army, with large bodies of auxiliary militia, and cannot be found. Six Generals and at least ten thousand men have been four months in search of them, and they are as *introuvables* as the famous chamber of deputies of Louis 18. They have in the meantime but too fatally found some of our citizens habitations, and some of our ill-fated detachments of troops, whom they have scalped and tomahawked according to the custom of their tender mercies. Two Millions of dollars of appropriation extraordinary have already been swallowed up, by this miniature cormora[nt]<sup>2</sup> and nothing has been done;—there is not even a prospect that this invisible wa[r]<sup>2</sup> will terminate the present year, and the climate is already committing ravages among our troops, more terrible than the savages themselves.

In the meantime another and far more portentous War, has blazed up, with the suddenness of a faggot fire kindled in a forest. It is close upon our Southern border, and we are in the most imminent danger of being involved in its conflagration. Two Millions of dollars have already been voted by the House of Representatives in preparation to meet its blast; a second Regiment of dragoons has been added to the standing Army of the Union, and the President of the United States has been authorised for three years to accept the services and to saddle the Country with the burden of supporting ten thousand Volunteers of the Militia of the Western States. So suddenly have these measures flashed upon us that neither of the two Bills has passed the Senate, though both have

<sup>1</sup> William Jackson of Newton.

<sup>2</sup> Paper torn.

passed the house with extreme precipitation. The last Million appropriation Bill in one day—last Saturday. The nature and causes of this War, were then also for the first time partially disclosed by communications from the Executive, and it threatens to be nothing less than a foreign, a civil, a servile and an Indian war combined in one. And that of this War, we have been or are to be the aggressors. It is on our part a War with Mexico, for the re-establishment of Slavery in the province of Texas, and for the conquest and annexation of Texas, and of other portions of Mexico to our Union, and the re-subjugation of emancipated Slaves, and the conquest of the Mexican Provinces, and their annexation as slave-holding States of our Union, and the extermination of the Indians whom we have been driving like swine into a pen West of the Mississippi, are all parts of one System of War policy, bursting upon us at this moment. In this state of things I must not look back, for clashing opinions with Mr Webster or any other Northern man. My conflict now is with the nullifier and Slave-holder, and with their conjoint system of policy, and this conflict has already commenced. I have taken my stand; and in the debate of last Saturday, wretchedly reported both in the *Globe* and *Intelligencer*, you will yet see what passed between Mr Thompson of South-Carolina, aided by Mr Balie Peyton of Tennessee, and me. Thompson is the Prince of nullifiers in the House. Balie Peyton is the Ajax of the White standard. Harrison has already lost a Son in this Mexican War, and some at least of his friends in the House are infected with its frenzy. Mr Webster has not yet spoken but his friends in the House upon this point are all with me. That is they vote with me, though they have not forgiven me for demolishing their *Chateaux en Espagne* for the next President.

My resolution of 22<sup>d</sup> January<sup>1</sup> therefore still sleeps on the Speaker's table as it did when you left this place. The Appropriation Bills and other measures of the first urgency, have occupied the House incessantly since January, and in the meantime other objects of deliberation have arisen upon which my views have not been conformable to those of the ruling majority in the House. I incline therefore both from principle and policy to use forbearance towards Mr Webster, and to suffer the vituperations of his friends in the House to pass without reply. The shallow and inconsistent pretences upon which the three Million Appropriation was rejected in the Senate have been totally abandoned; the opposition majority have melted into a minority, and the Webster whigs of our own delegation, have so thoroughly parted from their nullifying, White and Harrison associates, that all the important purposes of my Resolution have been attained, and I could secure nothing by pressing

<sup>1</sup> "Resolved, That so much of the message of the President of the United States to Congress at the commencement of the present session, as relates to the failure, at the last session of Congress, of the bill containing the ordinary appropriations for fortifications, be referred to a select committee, with instructions to inquire into, and report to the House, the causes and circumstances of the failure of that bill."

the subject further but a personal triumph, which the ruling majority themselves may not be more willing to aid me in gaining than their adversaries. If any thing *now* remains necessary for my defence, I shall rather prefer to address it to my Constituents through the Press.

For your anniversary Address at Bunker's Hill I have no suggestion to offer you, which could even claim admission among those which will present themselves to your own mind. You will not fall into commonplace bragging with which the theme is redundant, and you know too well how to temper panegyric with philosophy, to require a leading idea of restraint upon the propensity merely to admire and to condemn.

I have expected our Session would close about the last of this Month, but if the cloud on our Southwestern frontier should not clear away, we shall hardly separate before the 1<sup>st</sup> of July. We have important appropriation Bills yet on hand.

I remain, very faithfully yours

J. Q. ADAMS.

## XXVI.

A. H. EVERETT Esq<sup>r</sup> Norfolk House Roxbury, Mass<sup>ts</sup>

WASHINGTON 7. Nov<sup>r</sup> 1837

Dear Sir

I received a few days since your Letter of 20. Oct<sup>r</sup> enclosing a number of the Norfolk Argus, and I had a few days before received your address to the Literary Society at Providence,<sup>1</sup> which I read with great pleasure.

Your view of the contrasted character of the Literature of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries is highly interesting, and I *hope* on the whole correct. I am under some apprehension that it sees the philosophy of the age in fairer colours than the reality will warrant. I have taken as yet no cognizance of Monsieur Cousin's system and I have been impressed with a painful idea, that the sense of religion is almost entirely extinguished in France. I observe that you have not noticed Benjamin Constant's work upon Religion—nor Lord Bolingbroke, among the infidel writers of the last age.

Speculative atheism is the most unfortunate of all religions, for it can make its appeal to no honest motive in the human heart. If the creed of the atheist were true, man would have no good reason for believing it, for truth itself would lose all its value. Right and Wrong, have no meaning, but for a responsible hereafter, and that responsibility depends entirely upon the existence of a moral ruler of the Universe. Man is the only animated being on this globe, who has the sense of Right and Wrong. Take that from him, and his Law is the Law of the Tyger, the Shark, the Vulture and the Rattlesnake. The question between the Atheist and the Deist, is beyond the solution of human reason.

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Everett, *An Address to the Philermenian Society of Brown University, on the Moral Character of the Literature of the last and present Century*, delivered at Providence, September 4, 1837 (Boston, 1837).

Voltaire's only reason for believing the existence of a God was that he could not conceive of a watch without a watchmaker. But when he had the watchmaker, how could he conceive of him without a prior cause. *In the beginning*, says the Book of Genesis, God created the Heaven and the earth. But what was before *the beginning*?

Ante mare et tellus, et quod tegit omnia coelum,  
Unus erat toto Naturae vultus in orbe,  
Quem dixere Chaos;

says Ovid—but what was before Chaos? The foundation of moral principle is not in the belief of the existence of a God, but in that of man's responsibility to him, and a future state of retribution. Voltaire did not believe this. He believed in a creator of the Universe; but not in his moral Government.

Bolingbroke says that it is desirable to believe in a future state, but that all the phenomena of Nature are against it.

Benjamin Constant argues against all religious principle; but shrinks from his own conclusions. He disclaims infidelity, and professes to believe as much as the protestant faith requires.

Hume, Diderot, D'Alembert, Mirabeau the father, d'Holbach, Condorcet, were cold blooded Atheists, and could therefore have no steady system of morals. The Morals of England in the last age were chiefly sustained by Dr Johnson and Burke; and since them by Mackintosh.

The Morals of France, I fear are very bad, precisely because there is no basis of Religion for them to rest upon. There is a fearful looking for of judgment in Tocqueville's Book on Democracy, as well as in Benjamin [sic] Constant. Beranger's Songs are as licentious as any thing in Voltaire or La Fontaine.

The application of your discourse, in your peroration to the young men whom you addressed is admirable.

I wish I could as [sic] concur as cordially with you, in the political opinions, which are dividing the Country at this time, as in your views of the Literature of the last and of the present century. The Resolution of the Democratic Convention at Worcester against the annexation of Texas, and the Resolution of the Norfolk Convention, approving my course with regard to the right of petition, were grateful to me, and are entitled to my highest respect. Nor is it without pain that I differ so essentially as I do from the other Resolutions adopted on those two occasions. I had hoped that the calamities brought upon the Country by the headstrong passions, and self-idolizing ignorance of the last Administration, would have operated as a warning to the present.

The leading measures of the administration at the recent Session of Congress have been in my judgment so unwise and so unjust that I found myself compelled to take a stand of the most decided resistance against them. My Speeches in both cases will be published and shew the grounds of my opposition. The extreme injustice of withholding from the Northern States the 4<sup>th</sup> instalment of the deposit act and of releasing the Southmost and Western States from the obligations of



paying that same money, unaccountably suffered to be accumulated in their banks, was so disgusting to me, that I could not endure to see it unreprieved, especially when I ascertained that the real intention was to deprive the Northern States of the fourth instalment altogether.

I would have consented to a delay of the fourth instalment, and have voted, for both the bills, and for the Treasury Note Bill, if the Administration would have consented by an appropriation of funds to secure the payment at the day, which they were obliged to fix for the term of postponement. They inflexibly refused this pledge, and lost 60 or 70 votes, for their three bills. Upon so small a concession the Administration could have carried all their measures except the divorce or sub-treasury by four fifths of the whole house.

As to the sub-treasury—Bedlam seems to me to be the only place where it could have originated. A War with the *Money* Power, to provide for the collecting, keeping, and disbursing the *Money* of the Nation. A Divorce of Bank and State! Why a divorce of Trade and Shipping would be as wise to carry on the business of a merchant. A divorce of Army and Fire-Arms, in the face of an invading enemy, a divorce of Law and a Bench of Judges to carry into execution the Statutes of the Land, would be as reasonable! But I must refrain.

The movements of the nullification party here, and of their head have not served to recommend the Subtreasury Scheme to the friends of the Union. It came into the House, under the patronage of ultra-nullification. And this, exactly cotemporaneous with a Southern Convention held at Augusta in Georgia against the Commerce and Merchants of the North.

May the day be not remote when we shall harmonize in political opinions, not less than in the estimate of past and present Literature; and may your prospects in future, whether political or literary be prosperous and happy.

Ever your friend

J. Q. ADAMS-



## REVIEWS OF BOOKS

### GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

*Defixionum Tabellae quotquot innotuerunt tam in graecis Orientis quam in totius Occidentis Partibus practer atticas in Corpore Inscriptionum Atticorum editas.* By AUGUSTE AUDOLLENT. (Paris: Albert Fontemoing. 1904. Pp. cxxviii, 568.)

THIS is a dissertation, which, in combination with the author's *Carthage romaine, 146 av. J. C.—698 ap. J. C.* (Paris, 1901), has won for him the doctorate "with very honorable mention" from the University of Paris. As the epigraphic *defixiones* of Attica, so far as then known, had already been published by R. Wünsch, *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum*, III., App. (1897), Audollent devoted himself to the collection and editing of all the rest which have been found in the Greco-Roman world. Though many of these inscriptions had been printed and discussed in periodicals, not a few were inaccessible to the public, some buried in museums and others recently discovered. The works of Wünsch and Audollent together form an exhaustive collection of the known material on the subject. Audollent has arranged his inscriptions according to provinces and cities, and for each locality has made logical and convenient groupings. The general subject is treated thoroughly in the introduction (128 pp.), and a brief commentary accompanies the text. The detailed indexes will give the user of the volume complete control of the material either for the study of the subject-matter or for linguistic purposes.

In defining *defixio* the author distinguishes it carefully from *devotio*, thus correcting an error into which many scholars have fallen. *Devotio*, he says, is open, often public; it may be prompted by love of country or of glory; and it is recognized by the state as a religious act: whereas the *defixio* is secret, always prompted by hatred or fear, a superstition requiring the aid of some magician or witch. Doubtless he is right in distinguishing the two words, though they may occasionally overlap. It was believed, he explains summarily, that by means of the *defixio* *quemdam sibi inimicum necessitate fixum et immotum tenere deosque certis simul formulis obligare ut in eundem saevire cogerentur* (p. xxxii)—two marks which can be found in no other form of imprecation.

Perhaps the best English equivalent is "magical curse." The etymology of the word, from *defigere*, to fasten especially by piercing, suggests that the charmer used the formula as a nail or needle for trans-

fixing his victim, to kill him, or torture him with pain or sickness till he was ready to yield to the will of the doer (*cf.* Kuhnert in Pauly-Wissowa, IV. 2373, *et seqq.*). The prayer, which is the essential feature, is secretly addressed to some god or demon, requesting him to inflict the desired misfortune upon the named enemy or rival.

The author has drawn some interesting conclusions as to its purpose in different localities. Only where Greek was spoken did litigants apply it extensively to their adversaries; the *defixio* of thieves was practically limited to Britain and Spain; in Rome, Carthage, and Hadrumetum only did rival charioteers have recourse to it for overcoming their opponents in the races of the circus; whereas lovers indulged in it equally everywhere. These are the four principal uses to which it was put. Localities show as great differences with respect to the deities invoked and the formulae of incantation.

In the performance of his laborious task the author has shown himself a thorough scholar; in fact it has now become possible on the basis of his work, together with that of Wünsch, to make a satisfactory study of this interesting class of superstitions.

GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD.

*The Valerian Persecution; a Study of the Relations between Church and State in the Third Century A. D.* By the Reverend PATRICK J. HEALY, D.D., of the Catholic University of America. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. xv, 285.)

THE persecution under Valerian, an interesting topic which has not hitherto been treated by itself in English, occupies only about half the space in the book before us, which is in fact a study of the relations between State and Church during a period of two centuries, from Nero to the edict of toleration issued by Gallienus. It will naturally be grouped with Mason's *Persecution of Diocletian* and Gregg's *Decian Persecution*, but its scope is somewhat broader than theirs. On the other hand, it is narrower than that of W. M. Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire before A. D. 170*, or of Hardy's *Christianity and the Roman Government*. Much of the author's material was of necessity utilized by the late Dr. Benson in his book on *Cyprian*, to which frequent reference is made. Dr. Healy has studied his sources, and cites freely from the best recent writers, Aubé, Allard, Boissier, Neumann, Mommsen, and Harnack, not neglecting the important archaeological works of De Rossi and of Northcote and Brownlow. Great freedom is employed in the use of the ancient martyr-acts, which are drawn upon to fill out the details of the picture, although at the cost of critical accuracy, as the author himself recognizes, for these *Acta* abound in legendary embellishments. Hesitation between the author's desire to save as much as possible of the traditions of the *Acta* and his effort to be true to the canons of historical criticism sometimes leaves the reader in a state of doubt what to believe (pp. 209, 231, 246 note).

There are some digressions, treating questions of politics and government which, while interesting in themselves, have little or no bearing upon the main subject. Seven pages, for example, are devoted to describing a plan for reviving the censorship, which after all "was never put into execution" (pp. 78-84). All this however serves to exhibit the range of the author's learning, which is considerable.

The fortunes of Christianity under Valerian are fully set forth, and Dr. Healy rightly emphasizes the great significance of the edict of Gallienus, whereby for the first time a truce was declared between the Empire and the Church (p. 269). It should be pointed out that in the earlier portions of the book the author's views are not entirely in accord with those of Mommsen, Harnack, and others. He is not satisfied with holding that down to the reign of Decius the restrictive measures against Christianity were taken under the general police power vested in all Roman magistrates (the *jus coercitionis*), nor does he think that the crimes of sacrilege and treason, along with the *lex Julia* which limited the right of association, were sufficient to cover all the cases which might arise; but endeavors to prove the existence of a specific law, "*non licet esse christianos*", dating from the first century, under which (supplemented of course by imperial rescripts) the Roman officials proceeded all through the second century (pp. 38 *et seqq.*). This conjecture is extremely hazardous. Tertullian is very explicit in his statement of the legal situation: "*sacrilegii et majestatis rei convenimur. summa haec causa, immo tota est*" (*Apol.* 10). Most scholars will prefer to follow Mommsen and Harnack.

In the treatment of ecclesiastical discipline as applied to the lapsed in the Decian persecution, Dr. Healy advances views which will appear to many like anticipations of the later development of penance. Similarly in his discussion of the Novatianist schism, it is doubtful whether he fairly represents the leader of that movement (p. 107). On the whole, however, it is right to say that the author does not obtrude his ecclesiastical prepossessions. Protestant scholars are by no means all agreed as to what to think of Novatian. Touching the wording of the title, it is much to be desired that we should cease to commit the blunder of using Valerian, Novatian, Diocletian, and other such substantives, as if they were adjectival forms like Neronian and Decian. The book as a whole is interesting and valuable. But the author is mistaken in saying (preface, p. viii) that there is no complete history of the early persecutions in the English language. Not to mention the older work by Uhlhorn, *The Conflict of Christianity with Heathenism* (New York, 1879), which is still useful, there is an excellent and very complete book on the subject, lately published, which does not appear in Dr. Healy's bibliography, H. D. M. Spence's *Early Christianity and Paganism, A. D. 64 to the Peace of the Church in the Fourth Century* (New York, 1902).

JOHN WINTHROP PLATNER.

## BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

*A History of Diplomacy in the International Development of Europe.*

By DAVID JAYNE HILL, LL.D. Volume I. *The Struggle for Universal Empire*. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xxiii, 481.)

"No general history of European diplomacy", says Dr. Hill in his preface to this first of his six promised volumes, "exists in any language." What he understands, then, by a history of diplomacy is not a mere account of the rise and methods of diplomatic intercourse; for such we had already in Krauske's careful study on *Die Entwicklung der ständigen Diplomatie* and in the chatty little *History of Diplomacy* by "the roving Englishman", Murray, better known by its alternative title of *Embassies and Foreign Courts*. Nor can it be a history of treaties, for such were long ago furnished us by Mably and Koch and Schoell and Garden; nor a history of international law, after the fashion of Ward or Wheaton or Walker. Nor can he mean by it, on the other hand, so broad a survey of the progress of mankind toward unity as that of the Belgian Laurent in the score or so of eloquent volumes to which he gave the title of a *Histoire du Droit des Gens et des Relations Internationales*. "A history of diplomacy", thinks Dr. Hill, "properly includes not only an account of the progress of international intercourse, but an exposition of the motives by which it has been inspired and the results which it has accomplished"; and "an intelligent discussion of the subject must include also a consideration of the genesis of the entire international system and of its progress through the successive stages of its development." But the international system in his thought is that of modern Europe alone. The negotiations and treaties of the Greco-Roman world are as foreign to his interest as the letters of Tel-el-Amarna. If he devotes an introductory section to "Europe under the Roman Empire", it is only to explain the rise and scope of that imperial idea which was to dominate the age that followed. His real narrative begins with the third-century alliances between the Empire and the Germanic barbarians; and it is these which head his appended list of treaties and public acts. To the thousand years stretching thence to the fourteenth century the present volume is devoted.

Now, diplomacy in the middle ages is much like snakes in Ireland; and so Dr. Hill would seem to have found it. If the period furnishes him material not for a sentence but for a volume, it is doubtless because he counts the volume only the vestibule to his great work, as the introductory chapter is its door-step. Even though diplomacy were already here, international development must await the birth of the nations; and, if Dr. Hill discusses here and there a medieval negotiation, it is with no greater fullness than might be expected from a general historian. To him, as to the general historian, what is central in interest is the rise in Christendom of Church and of Empire, the collision

of these two rival world-powers, and the birth from their decay of the modern states. Nor is it, by any means, only the external relations of these powers that absorb his attention. Their internal organization, their dynastic changes, their social development, come in for scarcely less generous treatment. In truth, were there canceled but the half-dozen pages which deal with the beginnings of the organized diplomacy of the Venetians, it would be a clever critic who, reading side by side with Dr. Hill's volume some good general history—say, the parallel pages of the *Weltgeschichte* of Ranke—could guess which is the history of diplomacy and which the history of the world.

But, if this introductory act of Dr. Hill's great drama is a trifle suggestive of Hamlet without the prince, it is at least a clear, a cogent, and an eloquent introduction. He writes not only with terseness and force, but with a rare distinction, redolent always of an unusual breadth of thought, of culture, and of experience. His attitude is eminently judicial, and there are no lapses from the even ripeness of his reflection. In a survey ranging over so vast a field one will hardly expect, indeed, to find everywhere the exactness of the specialist; and there is much to suggest that, since the foundations of Dr. Hill's historical scholarship were laid, busy years of action have interrupted the closeness of his attention to the progress of research. One still reads in his pages of the letter of Pope Anastasius to Clovis (p. 53), of the Pragmatic Sanction of Louis IX. (p. 389), of the fabled imperial claims of Pope Boniface VIII. (p. 397). If he lays stress on the "Edict of Milan" (pp. 19-21), as there is still ample warrant for doing, it is without apology to Seeck; and, regardless of Langlois and of Finke, his Philip the Fair is still, and without question, "a despot without conscience or morality" and "a grèater administrative genius than France had yet possessed" (pp. 393, 399). But what is much more striking is the industry, the insight, and the thoroughness with which, on the whole, even in this vast introductory field, he has acquainted himself, as to all points cardinal to his theme, with the best and the latest in the teeming literature of his subject. As for petty slips, such as the turning into a "monastery of St. Coelius" (p. 62) the Roman monastery of Gregory the Great on the Coelian hill, or the placing of Spoleto "in Southern Italy", they are exceptionally few.

A classified list of authorities, appended to each chapter, suggests the sources on which the author has chiefly relied and facilitates further research. There is room, of course, for only a selection, and many an important title is lacking; but those named are well chosen and helpfully discussed. At the end of the volume are dynastic tables, a chronological list of treaties and other public acts, a careful index, and several crude but useful maps.

The present volume breaks off with the death of Henry of Luxemburg, in 1313. The actors in the drama of the nations are at last on the stage. The next volume, whose theme is "The Establishment of

Territorial Sovereignty", must grapple with the plot itself and carry it far on toward the dénouement. When it shall be in our hands the work of Dr. Hill as investigator and as interpreter can more fairly be judged.

GEORGE L. BURR.

*Select Documents illustrating Mediæval and Modern History.* By EMIL REICH. (London: P. S. King and Son. 1905. Pp. xvi, 794.)

STUBBS's *Select Charters* has become the mother of a whole race of source-books in the generation that has elapsed since 1870. Some of these have been illustrative material for schools, and the texts have therefore appeared in translation; others have been for critical, technical training, and embody the original texts, as is the present case. The purpose of all this variety of books has been the same in great degree; but the point of view of the compiler and the method of grouping the texts have been different. Some editors have followed chronological sequence; others have associated the texts of a given epoch together; a third class has followed a national grouping; finally there is the institutional method.

Dr. Reich has combined the last two methods, not always happily. Of the nineteen parts into which this volume is divided, three fall under the caption of institutional grouping, the residue being distributed by nations. The whole field of medieval and modern history, including England and America, is covered in this survey, although in the last case the texts are so few as to make the volume of little use for the study of English and American history. By what seems to be a reversal of historical development Dr. Reich has begun his work in the modern field, part I. being "International Treaties"; then in part II. he passes to church history, both medieval and modern; and in part III. returns to the beginning with a section devoted to "General Institutions of the Middle Ages". The rest of the volume, as said above, is a classification by nations. It is difficult to understand what tests the editor has used in the classification of the documents here published, or why he has selected the termini as he has. The treaty of Westphalia is the initial text of the book. But why omit that of Cateau-Cambrésis, which is the true groundwork of modern Europe? The Baron De Ruble has devoted an entire volume to the history of this treaty alone; and its bearing upon the international relations of France, Spain, England, and the Empire, in the century before 1648, is very important. Why also omit the peace of Paris of 1856, surely an international instrument, since the volume comes down as late as 1871? And why relegate the texts of the treaty of the Pyrenees, of Amiens, of Tilsit, to the French section, when their articles were of international importance? Parts II. and V. make an arbitrary and awkward divorce of historical processes which were largely the obverse and reverse sides of the same thing. The former division pertains to "Church History";

the latter to the "Holy Roman Empire". How can the student appreciate the importance of the decrees of the popes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries unless by turning a page he is able to read the official utterances of the Franconian and Hohenstaufen emperors? Instead of being enabled conveniently so to do, he finds a body of material upon "General Institutions of the Middle Ages" thrust in between, together with Greek texts pertaining to the Byzantine Empire. The arrangement followed by Dr. Reich seems most awkward.

Less exception may be taken to the actual texts selected. In the main these are the most important and most familiar official documents, for nothing is included of a narrative or annalistic nature except an extract from Einhard upon the coronation of 800. There are some notable historical developments entirely ignored, however. There is not a text to illustrate the break-up of the Frankish empire in the ninth century, unless the capitulary of Quierzy (877) be so taken; and nothing at all upon the history of the Capetian monarchy. The whole breadth of time between Charles the Bald and Philip IV. is ignored. The texts here compiled are good so far as they go, but the self-laudation of Dr. Reich in the preface, to the effect that "any teacher of history will at once recognize that the choice of the documents, the introductions, the bibliographies, and the elaborate index, all concur to give into the hands of students a work of reference such as has not yet been attempted either here or on the continent" (p. x.), is far from being justified by the facts, even omitting considerations of taste. The teacher of history will not dispense with Schilling's *Quellenbuch zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, Gaffarel's *Histoire Contemporaine*, and Corréard's *Textes pour servir à l'étude des institutions de la France*, for the study of modern history; or with Richter's *Annalen*, Doeberl's *Monumenta Germaniae Selecta*, and Langlois's *Textes relatifs à l'histoire du parlement de Paris*, for medieval history. He will still need these, and others. It should be added in praise of Dr. Reich that he has been scrupulous in his care that the documents have been copied from the best-established texts of the originals.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

*The Growth of the Manor.* By DR. P. VINOGRADOFF. (London: Swan, Sonnenschein, and Co.; New York: The Macmillan Company. 1905. Pp. viii, 384.)

THE purpose of this volume is to bring together the results of special investigations into manorial origins; to examine these in order to determine how far they harmonize and how far they may be accepted; and to give a general survey of the various phases of social organization from Celtic to feudal times that had an important bearing on the development of the manor. The book is both critical and constructive. The author rejects many conclusions that have recently gained wide acceptance, reinstates several discarded theories, and advances some that are new. He avoids "legal subtleties", points out the danger of



being misled by the artificialities of fiscal records—"the world does not primarily exist for the sake of fiscal schemes, nor society for the sake of police arrangements" (p. 149)—and makes bolder use of inference from general economic and social conditions, from analogy and from late "survivals" than have his most distinguished fellow-workers in this field.

In this volume, as in his *Villainage in England*, the general position is maintained that in the early Saxon period the typical form of rural social organization was the community of free shareholders upon which, as society gradually became feudalized, manorialism was superimposed. Thus his conclusions regarding the time and the causes of the development of seigniorial power and of the manorialization of the village community are in general agreement with those of Professor Maitland, while, on the other hand, his views respecting the communal organization of the Old English township are repeatedly set forth in sharp contrast to Professor Maitland's belief in the early existence of individualism and the derivation of village organization from "seigniorial and governmental pressure".

With this conception of the importance of communalism in the society of an early period, the conception of the kindred as a highly organized body and the family group as the land-owning group is naturally associated. In his discussion of Celtic tribal arrangements Professor Vinogradoff maintains the following conclusions: The organization of Celtic society was mainly determined by the agnatic principle; although relationship through women formed a basis for certain rights. It is a mistake to argue with Professor Maitland and others that the recognition of cognatic relationship or of independent rights of women precludes the existence of the agnatic clan. The two competing principles of relationship acted simultaneously though with unequal force. The typical *gwely* was occupied by a community of free shareholders, members of an agnatic family, co-operating in agrarian activities. The serfs did not cultivate the land of the freemen but dwelt in separate villages of their own. General economic conditions did not favor the existence of slavery. The rude equality that prevailed among freemen was not due to democratic ideals but to the consideration necessarily shown to the warriors of the tribe.

In the chapter on Roman Britain, which is based largely on a study of continental conditions, it is argued that village communities with an independent organized life survived and were even created under Roman rule. Roman civilization did indeed tend toward the spread of private ownership in land; yet this tendency was by no means completely realized. The *fundus* of the tax-roll is an artificial unit, and arguments based upon the apparent prevalence of this form of estate are unsound. In the fourth and fifth centuries conditions favored the rise of village communities with powers of self-government. The position of the colonus, which was more advantageous than that of the small freeman, differed widely from that of the medieval serf, since he did



not cultivate the demesne but paid rent in money or in a share of the produce. In Britain Roman influence was felt in spots, but had no general transforming power.

With regard to the Old English period it is maintained that the kindred or *mægth* was a definite body, in some degree organized, and agnatic in its main constitution. In opposition to Professor Maitland's view, Professor Vinogradoff says (p. 138): "The assumption of some permanent organisation is not in any way disturbed by the right of every single individual to claim support for the exaction and execution of payments according to varying degrees of relationship. . . . The . . . organisation of kindred . . . exists not for the apportionment of claims but for enforcing them by the authority and action of the whole."

Settlement was by *mægths*, and the unit of landed property was the *terra familiae* (*hiwisc* or *hide*), which, as involving a kind of house-community with regard to proprietorship and cultivation, was "probably not unlike" the Welsh *gwely* (p. 141). The hide was mainly cultivated by freemen who were also warriors. Women, probably, could not hold land. Collectively, the hides formed the folcland, charged with numerous duties to the king, from many of which, at least, it generally became exempt when converted into bocland. Only as bocland did it become individual property, and, in general, capable of free alienation. The form of settlement, which was determined by the conditions of settlement rather than by racial psychology, was generally the village.

The very nature of the open-field system of husbandry necessitated some sort of township organization. In his discussion of this subject Professor Vinogradoff follows to a considerable extent the line of reasoning pursued in his *Villainage in England*. In the absence of contemporary evidence, he infers much from evidence of later date; thus, he believes that the corporate management of arable land by urban communities in much later times is an indication of communal ownership of arable by early agrarian communities (pp. 175, 261). He points out that the unity of the *tūn* or township (terms which he prefers to "vill") is revealed by its appearance as a party in the important class of agreements and suits connected with the determination of boundaries and other matters of intervillar concern (p. 167); argues for the existence of a township moot (pp. 194-196, 273-274); and concludes that the distribution of political and ecclesiastical duties among townships resulted from the fact that these were compact economic units.

Within the township the single share or hide long preserved its integrity, which, however, the growth of population tended to destroy. From the conflict of tendencies working toward the integrity and the division of the hide, the *virgaté* resulted.

Forces were also at work that gave the private owner greater control over the disposition of his land; and in the form of bocland or loaland landed property became mobilized and large areas passed into the possession of private individuals. The development of individualistic tendencies and of economic inequality marked the approach of the feudal

period. The tribal system was superseded by patronage, which tended "to strike roots" and become lordship. The Danish wars gave rise to a professional military class which had to be supported by larger territorial areas, by dues from the *ceorl* (*gafolgeldcr* or *tributarius*) formerly paid to the king, and finally by labor services. Demesne land (inland) appeared, and this, as a rule, was free from taxation, which the tenants' land (warland) bore. The manor began to assume its familiar form, and two classes of manors may be distinguished: (1) those planted by thegns, who were "pioneers of economic progress and colonisation" (p. 128) as well as warriors; and (2) those which existed as free village communities before they fell under the sway of lords.

It was only after the conquest that the principles were systematically accepted of *nulle terre sans seigneur*; of service as the condition of tenure; and of status as determined by service. The working out of these principles resulted in a new social organization and in the creation of new social classes. The township was superseded by the manor as "the organising unit of property and population" (p. 299), and as a convenient instrument by which the conquerors carried on a portion of the work of local administration.

The advent of the "manorial epoch" was accompanied by a change in the theory of landownership; the integrity of tenants' holdings became assured; the principle of joint liability, which played an important part in the life of the Old English township, was recognized.

In the interesting closing chapter on "Social Classes" in the feudal period it is maintained that the classification of persons in Domesday Book corresponds to economic rather than to legal distinctions. The line drawn between villeins, *bordiers*, etc., indicates merely a difference in the size and character of the holdings of the various groups of tenants.

In the foregoing summary no mention has been made of several conclusions, especially on technical points, which will be of much interest to the special student of the period. To such students, of course, the book is indispensable; while, on account of its breadth of treatment and its suggestive quality, it ought also to be welcomed by a far wider circle.

The book is by no means conclusive. So little evidence is adduced in support of large generalizations that the author often fails to convince. A strong case has indeed been made for the late manorialization of the vill, but his other main contention as to the organized life of the early village community seems still unproved. Particularly unsatisfactory are his discussions of the hide, of the document known as "Tribal Hidage", and of the Domesday teamlands (part II., chapter III., especially pp. 163, 250, and 255). Nor do his views regarding the classification of persons in Domesday Book appear to have sufficient support.

It is a pity that so valuable a work has not been issued in better form. Typographical errors abound, on account of which many refer-

ences are unverifiable; while the notes, which contain many of the most important criticisms and conclusions, are so awkwardly inserted at the ends of the three parts into which the volume is divided that reference to them is difficult. The index, which has been prepared by Mr. Alexander Savine, seems excellent.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

*Innocent III.: La Croisade des Albigeois.* Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE.  
(Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. 262.)

In this volume M. Luchaire continues the study begun in *Innocent III.: Rome et l'Italie*<sup>1</sup>. It is to be hoped that he will eventually publish a history of Innocent III. with a sufficient apparatus of foot-notes, etc. In spite of all that has been written concerning the great pope, there is need for such a work, and M. Luchaire shows in this volume, as he has done in his preceding work, that he is pre-eminently fitted for the task.

The book is divided into five chapters, treating respectively "La France du Midi et l'opposition religieuse"; "La papauté et les hérétiques"; "Les préliminaires de la Croisade"; "La Guerre des Albigeois"; and "Les tentatives de réaction". The first is a brief but delightful sketch of the conditions in *la France ensolcillée* on the eve of the Albigensian Crusade. If space permitted, we would gladly quote some of the passages in which the author portrays the characteristics of the people and the reasons for the spread of heresy. Possibly here more than anywhere else in his writings M. Luchaire has shown his artistic skill in seizing the words and phrases best fitted to depict the conditions which he wishes to emphasize.

The other chapters, as the titles indicate, are devoted to a study of Innocent's attitude toward heresy, and especially the Albigensian Crusade. Events are narrated only to illustrate the pope's actions, and the account practically ends with the Fourth Lateran Council. It is not a history of the Albigensian Crusade. Even for the period which it covers, many of the important details of the war are omitted, because they are not important for the author's purpose.

The contribution which this book makes is a careful study of the diplomatic relations which Innocent carried on with his own legates, with the leaders of the crusade, with the nobles of Languedoc, and with the kings of France and Spain. M. Luchaire does not believe in "the prearranged duplicity", or "the purposed deceit", of Innocent. He represents the pope repeatedly as "mal obéi, mal renseigné, tiraillé entre ses propres tendances et les suggestions des violents" (p. 148). He shows how the legates exceeded their instructions and practically forced Innocent to recognize the *fait accompli*. He believes that Innocent at the Lateran Council yielded against his will in disinheriting the two Raymonds of Toulouse, and that "en sauvant leur dynastie de la ruine totale, il avait rendu leur succès possible" (p. 259).

<sup>1</sup> See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, X. 633-634.

The student who is familiar with the subject realizes how thoroughly this volume is based upon sources, but must regret that there are no references. He would prefer to know what passages the author considered in reaching a given conclusion. The pope's actions were so enigmatical and contradictory that there is ample room for difference of opinion as to his motives. M. Luchaire's well-founded reputation for thoroughness and impartiality predisposes us to accept his general conclusions, but when there are no foot-notes there must always be a lingering doubt whether important passages may not have been overlooked. Ought even a great scholar to present a new point of view without furnishing his proofs?

DANA CARLETON MUNRO.

*The Office of an English Bishop in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century.* By EDITH KATHERINE LYLE. (Thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania. 1903. Pp. v, 132.)

WE must confess to a feeling of disappointment as we finish reading this little treatise. As a catalogue of functions it is admirable, showing industrious research, painstaking investigation, careful reading, and a patient jotting down of the facts in an orderly fashion. The chapters are well arranged: Provision for Cure of Souls; Diocesan Supervision; Collection of Revenue; Legislative and Judicial Work; Procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts; Powers Pertaining to the Episcopal Order. There is also a bibliography of about fifty sources and twenty-five secondary writers. But the work seems lacking in definite aim and purpose. It is not a thesis, for there is nothing stated to be proved or disproved and no definite conclusions are reached. Its subject is the functions rather than the office or position of a bishop. The opening part of the first chapter seems to promise much, declaring that "The English mediæval bishops entered into the life of their time in a greater number of ways than did any other class of men. . . . It is a modern, not a mediæval point of view, which regards the bishop chiefly as an ecclesiastic." The fact of the large use of the bishops as royal officials is mentioned, but without any attempt to explain it as due partly to their superior learning and experience and partly to the king's desire to control the Church, or at any rate to use its highly organized and great administrative power in his own interest.

One of the most interesting and valuable topics is that presented in the fourth and fifth chapters, under the titles "Legislative and Judicial Work" and "Procedure in the Ecclesiastical Courts". It has long been a matter of wonder and regret to students of English history that no records of ecclesiastical courts have been preserved, or have yet come to light. In the records of the secular courts we trace the procedure up to the time when, after due investigation and the guilt or innocence determined, the case being claimed by the ecclesiastical courts, the accused is handed over to the archdeacon or other official represen-

tative of the bishop. But beyond this all direct record ceases. The various registers contain many references to cases, but there are not found any ecclesiastical court records. This may be due to the fact that, these courts being in the nature of courts of equity, no records are needed; or the records, partaking of the nature of private rather than of public documents, were not carefully preserved. However it may be, an important branch of legal procedure and of constitutional history is left in a very uncertain light. The whole subject of ecclesiastical trials, benefit of clergy, and the relation to the secular courts deserves a fuller and more adequate treatment than it has yet received.

The presentation of the functions of the bishop as given in this volume furnishes a basis for considering the far-reaching power and influence of this high official in the Church, and throws light on the way in which the Church gained control of the public and private affairs of men. This study of the early part of the fourteenth century shows how well under way were the "institutions", "provisions", "inductions", etc., by which the pope was gaining control of the English Church, a control which became well-nigh complete in the fifteenth century, and by virtue of which an enormous revenue went every year from England to Rome.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

*Les Origines de la Réforme.* Par P. IMBART DE LA TOUR, Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. Tome I. *La France Moderne.* (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. xiii, 572.)

HISTORICAL scholars will cordially welcome the announcement of a new and elaborate history of the Reformation in France, especially as it is to come from the pen of one already well known to students of the middle ages, M. Imbart de la Tour, whose important monograph on the episcopal elections forms a natural prelude to his present more ambitious undertaking. He proposes in the work, of which only the first volume is in hand, to consider the nature and causes of the movement, the conditions in which it took its beginnings, its original spirit and its later transformations, the reasons for the failure of Protestantism to win France, its influence after its defeat, and the grave question whether this defeat meant an advance or a decline in French civilization.

The author discovers a striking parallelism between the religious revolution of the sixteenth century and the social and political revolution at the end of the eighteenth. And as it is now quite clear that no one can hope to understand the latter without a careful study of the *ancien régime*, so the former must remain an ill-comprehended series of external events with no fundamental explanation to those who approach the matter with only the traditional notions of France under Louis XI. and Louis XII. Consequently the author plans—as would appear from the preface—to devote not only this but a succeeding volume, now in preparation, to France before the opening of the religious disturbances.

The present volume falls into three books. Book I., "L'Absolutisme", deals with the structure of the state, the monarchy in its relations to the Church, to feudal institutions, and to the population at large. Book II., "La Renaissance Économique", is devoted to the revival of commerce and trade with its consequences. Book III., "L'Évolution Sociale", considers the great classes of society, the clergy, noblesse, bourgeoisie, and the more humble folk in country and town. The final chapter describes succinctly the social aspects of the intellectual and artistic renaissance.

M. Imbart de la Tour has based his work consistently upon the sources—royal letters, edicts, reports, registers of the *parlements*, reports of local assemblies, a great variety of ecclesiastical documents as well as private correspondence, in addition to the more commonly used pamphlets and memoirs. The national and departmental archives as well as those of the Vatican have been called into requisition. The results of such patient research cannot fail to be of the greatest value, presented as they are in the most admirable spirit and with true French clarity and order.

The author well says, "If the consummation of science is to reduce the complexity of facts to a few laws, its first care must be to reveal the essential complexity of the facts." Instead then of following the well-worn path of his predecessors and attempting to explain the religious commotions by great ideas—such as the antagonism of two races or of two sentiments, or that of the old culture and the new, or between dogmatism and individual conviction—he strikes into the arduous trail which promises to lead him and those who will follow him to the real goal of historic truth, imperfect and partial though this must always be.

JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON.

*A History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu.* By WILLIAM ARCHIBALD DUNNING, Ph.D., LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 459.)

THE great positive worth, or at least the great influence, whether for good or for ill, of theory in human life and history is perhaps nowhere so evident and so readily appreciated as in the case of political theory. Political affairs of all sorts and political history have an interest and always have had an interest characteristically direct and practical; so that while at times the political philosopher has been guilty of the wild flights of the theorist, of the intellectual dreamer, his formulae have seldom if ever lacked some of the marks of occasionalistic character, that is to say, of historical setting and local color. True, a very worthy Michigan judge once declared—and this, strangely enough, with reference to Locke's *Treatises of Government*—that theory had never done anything, had never taken any part in the life of actual affairs; but this judge, however respected in his district and however

learned in the law, lacked one or both of two things, a knowledge of Locke's *Treatises* and a knowledge of English and American history. No man ever wrote or thought to actual conditions more truly than Locke, and no man's theories ever entered into the warp and the woof of the life of affairs, molding the policies of statesmen and giving form to the language of effective political documents, more thoroughly than his; and what is true of him and his work is at least more generally and more evidently true of all political theories than of theories in any other field. The political theorist may be unwelcome among politicians; but among real statesmen he has an honored place.

Accordingly the history of political theories has exceptional interest, and the recent English literature devoted to it, already comprising a considerable number of volumes, includes no work more noteworthy than that of Professor Dunning, who within the year just past has published a volume covering the period from Luther to Montesquieu. This volume continues the *History of Political Theories, Ancient and Medieval*, which appeared in 1902, and, as is said in the preface, "save for slight modifications to meet the special requirements of the modern period, the scope and method announced [and followed] in the earlier volume have been adhered to." These "slight modifications", be it remarked, at least to one reader seem to spring from a better grasp of the material presented. Professor Dunning cannot be supposed to have intended such a confession, or such a boast, but suffice it to say that deeper understanding always is the chief if not the only source of any real appreciation of *special* requirements. To use a timely, perhaps an over-sensational metaphor, specialism may have a large retinue of domestic servants, but insight is easily the chef. In a more conventional sense, however, in a sense, too, applicable to his first as well as to his second volume, Professor Dunning is conspicuously a specialist, and to the success and value of his work from this standpoint the present review is for the most part to apply itself. Professor Dunning is specialist both as a historian and as a political scientist, and in this double character he is so successful that his present history seems to justify this treatment instead of the usual review. Questions of his interpretation of Bodin, Grotius, or the Puritan movement, of his treatment of the difference between Hobbes and Spinoza, or of his exposition of Montesquieu, although they may be raised with interest, appear insignificant before the larger question that his very substantial success in doing just the particular thing which he undertook forces upon the attention.

This history, to begin with, is distinctly "objective", or, I will say without much exaggeration, as nearly so as is humanly possible; it is scientific, being scrupulously without even the appearance of thought or effort for more than a clear, definite, impersonal presentation of the theories involved; and, except for a few well-chosen guiding landmarks from the positive events in the history of affairs, its political science is bounded by the literary sources. A "philosophical" mind is certainly



not the only mind worth having, and such a mind Professor Dunning plainly lacks. For deep interpretations, for inner meanings, he has little if any care. Again, the fact that theories may be, if not must be, organic to positive events is not his first interest. A philosopher of history, then, or a political philosopher he neither is nor pretends to be. But, although missing both of these high callings, in his own line he shows specialism at its best—and specialism, it cannot be out of place to add, of the kind that on the whole belongs to the Columbia group of political scientists. This is high praise, of course, but tempered with a Kantian criticism; and perhaps also presumption, yet also not untempered.

There are two marks of Professor Dunning's success that call for special notice. His history is indeed not a philosophy of history; yet in a measure it is instinct with one, it appears as if informed with a philosophy of history; it is so instinct or so informed at least in the measure or in the sense of its showing an excellent perspective. The space given to different theories is unusually well-proportioned. And then, this being the second of the two marks of success, as contributing really to the same result there is a liberality of view as genuine as it is appropriate. Not only are the Protestant ecclesiastics given due recognition, but especially the Catholics, for example such men as Mariana and Suarez, Spaniards as well as Catholics, are treated with noteworthy fairness. Now, of course, a work so informed, a work so well-proportioned and so liberal in its view, is only true to the best spirit of the day, but it shows the specialist, like the skilled laborer in a well-organized industry, not only faithful to his own task, but so successful in it as to seem to have some feeling for what others are doing in other lines without in any way assuming the right of trespass; and whenever specialism reaches this point it is fulfilling its true mission, becoming useful as well as worthy in itself, becoming, too, art as well as science. Art is but the definite and particular, in a word the special, through its content and its proportions made instinct with the whole. Even an objective history of political theories studied through the literary sources can be artistic in this way, and Professor Dunning's work is a witness to the possibility. Praise, it is true, is like blame; it can never be expressed without some exaggeration. But this history, approaching as it certainly does, and so in itself clearly suggesting what the ideal for specialism is, merits what has been said.

Finally it may be said again that Professor Dunning does not directly concern himself with the occasionalistic character of the theories examined, with their organic relations to real life, or say—in order to be quite up-to-date—with their pragmatic values; and his neglect in this regard will possibly seem to many a lost opportunity. As said here at the beginning, political theories are very susceptible to such attention. Politicians “in the hands of their friends” are not more open to recognition. And, aside from this consciousness—may I not call it that?—of political theories, there is the wide vogue of pragmatism, which has



not only found recognition among those wise in such matters, but has also taken a very firm hold of the popular mind. Professor Dunning, then, would appear to be almost an ascetic in that he has denied himself so much that was right at his hand. Here, however, as before, we are only in the presence of a successful specialism. Self-control there may be, but not asceticism. Some may be sure that another kind of history would interest them more, that association, for example, of the general alarm throughout England over the Spanish Armada with Hobbes's birth and temperament and so with certain points in his political theories; or of the events in Paris during the period so significant to Carlyle with the teachings of Rousseau would make a history of the theories dramatic, not dry: and others might claim that Professor Dunning's specialism, however near the ideal in its own field, is, to say the least, low down in the scale of things worth doing; but neither of these views shows the right outlook; neither springs from a healthy state of mind. One is dangerously near sensationalism; the other is offensively aristocratic. Not all people eat sugar on their porridge. Some actually find edible things, whether sugared or not, interesting and worthy even when not being eaten. And, last of all, in spite of its name, pragmatism means no slight to the value of just such self-control as Professor Dunning has shown.

ALFRED H. LLOYD.

*John Knox and the Reformation.* By ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 281.)

MR. ANDREW LANG aims to get behind tradition in dealing with the Scottish Reformation. In particular he labors to disclose inaccuracy and partizan misrepresentation in Knox's *History* and to expose Knox's violent counsels and brutality of language. The characteristics of heated combatants in the violent catastrophe of the sixteenth century are too well-known for us to feel a special surprise over the errors and bad taste of one particular religious revolutionist living in the midst of a society described by Mr. Lang as ignorant, brutal, and profligate, in a land which "had always been lawless, and for centuries had never been godly" (p. 9). But Mr. Lang is incessant in his surprise and abhorrence, and the reader very soon begins to be on his guard against a certain *Tendenz*. Mr. Lang was not moved to write by the mere zeal for historical accuracy. He is consciously demolishing a reputation and expressing the scorn of a member of the Church of England for the invention of Presbyterian polity. It is to be feared that the blind relentlessness of this bias has prevented a complete and dispassionate exhibition of the character of Knox. A passage in the preface (p. xi) is grotesquely incongruous with the main substance of the book: "That Knox was a great man; a disinterested man; in his regard for the poor a truly Christian man; as a shepherd of Calvinistic souls a man fervent and considerate; of pure life; in friendship loyal; by jealousy

untainted; in private character genial and amiable, I am entirely convinced." But Mr. Lang wrote his book to expose a bigoted, mendacious, unscrupulous, and scurrilous person, the Knox who was in battle with adversaries. As for the violence of expression, Mr. Lang seems never to remember the bias of Knox's own account. Knox was fond of exhibiting his own fearless indifference to men and things in high place, and he overdid this sufficiently to furnish critics with abundant illustrations of his bad taste. The mendacities are not in every instance clearly proved. A few weeks after the destruction of the monasteries in Perth in 1559, Knox wrote a summary statement of the matter to his wife in which he seems to attribute everything done in Perth to "the brethren". Several months later Knox in writing his *History* distinguished the looting and wrecking of the monasteries as the work of "the rascal multitude". Mr. Lang means that in the *History* Knox coined an untrue account out of deference to foreign opinions, the opinion of Calvin, but it is equally probable that the report to his wife is inexact simply because it is brief.

Certainly Mr. Lang cannot put himself in Knox's place, and even between Mr. Lang as a man of taste and Mr. Lang as a historian there are differences of tone and value. Having an esthetic appreciation of the Catholic ritual, he is shocked at the rude reformer's insensibility to rites "whereof he had never known the poetry and the mystic charm. Had he known them he could not have so denied and detested them." "Her confessional enabled the burdened soul to lay down its weight in sacred privacy; her music, her ceremonies, the dim religious light of her fanes, naturally awaken religious emotion" (p. 176). But did they then, in Scotland? Two pages later we read of the "hideous decline" of the church, "with ruffianly men of quality in high spiritual places; with priests who did not attend Mass, and in many cases could not read; with churches left to go to ruin; with license so notable that, in one foundation, the priest is only forbidden to keep a *constant* concubine". Yet Mr. Lang is grieved that Knox should speak of "the puddle of papistry". We may join in lamenting Knox's unworthy insinuations about Mary of Guise, but it is not edifying to have Knox praised for not making "confessions as to his earlier adventures" (p. 7). However, what reads like adroit insinuation seems to be said only for the literary pleasure of adding, "On his own years of the wild oat St. Augustine dilates in a style which still has charm."

Of Knox's extreme views on the suppression of Catholics, there is no doubt. Mr. Lang proves against him the intolerable doctrine that every true believer as an individual could and should punish "idolatry", but the indignant censure passed on this or any doctrine of interference with the rights of conscience is curiously grounded. For Knox, authority was Scripture, and, like men before or since his day, he inferred from the Old Testament the duty of suppressing error. This appeal to "Hebrew fanatics" outrages Mr. Lang, who, by virtue of a Biblical criticism of recent origin, can discriminate Hebrew fanatics from the

Christian dispensation. We cannot blame Knox for forgetting what he never knew, and we are not surprised to have Mr. Lang suddenly take the wind out of his modern indignation by saying (p. 240), "If Knox could have understood *that*, he would not have been Knox." The next sentence, however, says that Knox "never chose" to understand.

Mr. Lang has a strong feeling of antipathy for "the nascent kirk with the fire-new doctrine", his studies in St. Augustine not having, perhaps, reached the field of doctrine. "Lawful ministers" is frequently quoted to express a contempt for the lawfulness, and the preachers are injuriously referred to as "apostate monks or priests or artisans". That they were only six or seven at first is apparently a discredit, and that they should share in the power of the keys is specially grotesque: "persons who, being fluent preachers, have persuaded local sets of Protestants to accept them as ministers. These preachers having a 'call'—it might be from a set of perfidious and profligate murderers—are somehow gifted with the apostolic grace of binding on earth what shall be bound in heaven." But the impetuous Anglican might have noted that the apostolic grace belonged to these preachers only as organs of the church. After hearing from Mr. Lang about the Catholic clergy, "ignorant, brutal, and licentious younger sons and bastards of noble families" (p. 7), it is a relief to know that the Book of Discipline "secured a thoroughly moral clergy, till, some twelve years later, the nobles again thrust licentious and murderous cadets into the best livings and the bastard bishoprics" (p. 188). May not such passages suggest an extenuation of the drastic and painful diction of the reformer and agitator, a diction less modern because it often expresses a thing as offensive to the sense of smell?

We are guided, then, through the details of the Scottish Reformation for the express purpose of seeing how Knox lied and intrigued and to what extreme of intolerance he carried his principles. Barring some matters where erroneous or contradictory statements of Knox may be due to misinformation or fault of memory, Mr. Lang seems to make out his case and to shatter any reputation for integrity which Knox may have enjoyed. Its *sacra indignatio* may not always be earnest, but the work is a painful contribution to the literature of exposure.

FRANCIS A. CHRISTIE.

*Fighting Instructions, 1530-1816.* Edited with elucidations from contemporary authorities by JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M. (London: The Navy Records Society. 1905. Pp. xvi, 366.)

THIS book, of great interest to the naval officer, gives the gradual development of British naval tactics under sail. At the beginning of the long stretch of time covered by the book, nearly three hundred years (1530-1816), there was no methodic handling of a squadron in action, and it took nearly two hundred and fifty years to arrive at any really effective tactics. Sail, in the rough ocean at least, had displaced the

oared galley, and with the disappearance of oars as a motive power had gone all attempts to keep formation. The old galley disposition of attack was much the same as a line of battle ashore, that is, they were usually in line abreast. This was the arrangement at Lepanto, generally, it may be said in parenthesis, looked upon as a Spanish victory, because the chief in command was the Austrian bastard of the Spanish Charles I. (Charles V. of the Empire); but the Spaniards had but twelve galleys in the fight out of the nearly three hundred engaged.

All the same, as shown by Mr. Corbett, one of the earliest systems of tactics under sail came from Spain, though the treatise by Alonso de Chaves, the *Especjo de Navegantes* (*The Seamen's Looking-glass*), was never published until lately, when found by Captain Fernandez Duro, the historian of the Spanish navy, in the library of the Academy of History at Madrid. Chaves, who, as mentioned by Corbett, was one of the seamen writers of the time of Charles V., had very fair general views, both as to single ship and fleet actions. Following the galley practice to which Mediterranean nations were accustomed, his formation was in line abreast and not the line ahead (or what we term column) which became universal later. Regard must be had to the singular unhandiness of early-day ships: ridiculously short (it was a large ship which was over a hundred feet); with huge blockhouses and cabins at head and stern; with bellying sails, so made to hold the wind, not much in the way of manœuvres could be expected. Though English orders of 1545, betraying strongly, in Mr. Corbett's view, the influence of Chaves's ideas (through the alliance of Henry VIII. with Charles V.), show very definite views of a tactical formation, these seem to have died out, as it seems pretty clear that the attacks upon the Spanish Armada in 1588 were simply following up a fleeing and demoralized foe, neither assailant nor defender keeping any real formation. The first instructions known to be issued to an English fleet after the time of Henry VIII. were signed by Raleigh in 1617 when about to sail on his expedition to Guiana. But these were rather a set of regulations for the general government of the squadron, and future orders were for many years of like character.

With the English and Dutch wars of the middle of the seventeenth century came the use of the line ahead. Mr. Corbett makes out a strong case for its use first by the English, but there is a general vagueness in the accounts of nearly all the old fleet actions, and it is very probable that both combatants dropped into such a formation, which comes perfectly naturally on the principle of "follow your leader". In any case, with this war the instructions took on a more tactical character, and a line ahead formation was very definitely established in the English instructions of 1653. Monck and Prince Rupert, soldier-admirals without any previous experience of the sea, did much to establish formal tactics, but they took tactical risks and unfettered "individual initiative to almost any extent rather than miss the chance of overpowering the enemy by a sudden well-timed blow".

The school represented by the Duke of York (James II.) and Admiral Penn (the father of William Penn of Pennsylvania) brought about the rigid adherence to the formality of the next century, which, until broken through by Rodney in his action with de Grasse in 1782, prevented a decisive action for nearly a hundred years, tried Admiral Mathews and Captain Hawke for leaving the line and coming to close quarters in 1744 in the action off Toulon with the combined French and Spanish fleet, and made the fleet actions of the period travesties of the real battles fought in the previous century. The change was in breaking the enemy's line and attacking a remnant with a superior force instead of attempting, as the earlier eighteenth-century tactics required, to bring each ship against its opposite in the enemy's formation and keeping at the same time as rigidly to one's own formation in line (ahead) as possible. It was a Scotchman, Clerk, who had never been to sea, who was the first to press upon the English admiralty, with effectiveness, the new idea, which he had developed upon a table with miniature ships, showing how difficult it would be in the long line, often five miles in length, for the main body to return to the aid of a small portion so attacked. (And, curiously enough, it was for a Jesuit priest, Hoste, who had, however, seen much sea-service, to produce, in 1697, the most elaborate system of French tactics.) Whether Rodney's cutting through and bringing to close action the rear of the French line was the outcome of his discussions of Clerk's views (of which he had knowledge) or somewhat accidental is a moot question, but, in any case, it was the forerunner of the practice of the English admirals in the great wars which were soon to follow. An example, carried to the point of rashness, was Nelson's action at Trafalgar, in which his fleet in two widely-separated columns broke through the line of the French and Spanish at nearly right angles. The purpose was triumphantly accomplished, but it was a bold disregard of consequences which should ensue from an attack so conducted against an efficient foe. But he knew his enemies; he had in one a navy the trained officers of which had been swept away in the cyclone of the French Revolution and not replaced; in the other a power as defective in training, equipment, and in the sea habit as it was ninety-three years later.

It may be noted that the usage of distinguishing squadrons by three colors of flags, which developed into having three orders of flag-officers (admirals of the red, the white, and the blue), had its origin in 1625; also that each commander-in-chief had his own system of signals until toward the end of the eighteenth century, when a systematic usage began to obtain. That those of earlier days, cumbersome and inefficient beyond belief, should have held their own so long, does not speak well for naval inventiveness during the long period covered by this interesting study and compilation. As a final word it may be said, speaking humanly, that American independence was the result of Admiral Graves's adherence in 1781 to the formal tactics of his time. Had he

attacked de Grasse off the capes of the Chesapeake with the tactics of Rodney, he would probably have defeated de Grasse as did Rodney. In such case Graves, instead of de Grasse, would have entered the Chesapeake; Cornwallis would have been rescued from his peril; the British would have had complete command of the sea; the long march of the allies southward would have come to naught; and the whole struggle would have assumed another and a most disheartening aspect. It is in such studies that the importance of such books lies.

*Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution.* (Publiée sous la direction de M. ERNEST LAVISSE.) Tome VI., 2. *Henri IV. et Louis XIII. (1598-1643).* Par JEAN H. MARIÉJOL, Professeur à l'Université de Lyon. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1905. Pp. 493.)

THIS volume is an improvement upon the one which immediately precedes it from the same pen. M. Mariéjol excels in the writing of purely political and diplomatic history, and is farther away, in the seventeenth century, from certain prejudices that compromise his earlier production. Like each volume in the series, the present one deals with the entire history of France during a given time—in this case France from 1598 to 1643. But as a matter of fact it resolves itself into a series of studies in politics and diplomacy, united by shorter intermediate essays upon the culture-history of the period. This duality sometimes embarrasses the reader, for he does not always see things in their relations or appreciate the full bearing of certain events. Moreover, the internal and the external history of France are treated so separately that the reciprocal influence of events within and events without is sometimes missed. If the book had been written by different authors, as some of the series have been and as the Cambridge series is throughout, it probably would not have exhibited greater variance in this particular. A good example of this is the treatment of Richelieu's dealings in Italy in 1629.

The first book, which deals with the history of Henry IV. after the Edict of Nantes, is of a double nature, being an epilogue to the period of the civil wars and a prologue to the era of Richelieu. There are admirable studies in this part of Henry IV.'s reconstructive policy, of Sully's economies, and above all of the foreign policy of the first Bourbon. In this writing the author has rightly relied a good deal upon Philippon and Rott. But he has too closely followed Henrard's *Henri IV. et la Princesse de Condé* in the account of Henry's proposed intervention in Clèves. He minimizes the political thought of Henry IV. and exaggerates his passion. Even admitting that the king's love for the fair Charlotte this time did influence him politically (as never had been the case before), it nevertheless remains true that political necessity required firm conduct on Henry's part toward Spain. The Prince of Condé had been making so extravagant a display of Huguenot inclina-

tions that he was rightfully under suspicion of conspiracy, as Bouillon had been. Nothing decisive has yet been proved as to a direct understanding between Condé and Spain, but his slur upon the legitimacy of the dauphin had the active support of Spain and the papal nuncio. It would be hard to believe, if we did not have irrefutable proof of it, that Condé's ambitious effrontery went so far. Moreover, among the evidence at the trial of the Marshal Biron there was a memorandum in which Jean de la Fin, his former confidant, accused Biron of aiming to dissolve the traditional monarchy and to establish the government in the hands of the nobles and peers of the realm, who were to choose an elective ruler after the manner of Germany. The import of such information could not have escaped Henry IV.

Book II., dealing with the abandonment of Henry's foreign policy, the Spanish marriage, the Estates-General of 1614, and the trouble with court parties and the Huguenots, is excellent. Few issues of this period are debatable. The deterioration of power was so complete and the causes of it so evident that treatment of the subject becomes a matter of discretion in the choice of material, not of discrimination as to the motives and policy of the principals. The same observation, in a measure, is true also of book III., "*Le Ministère de Richelieu*". Since the publication of the correspondence of the cardinal by the Viscount d'Avenel, there is no room to doubt the greatness or the patriotism of the minister who "made his master the first man in Europe and the second man in France". The bearing of Italy upon the policy of Gustavus Adolphus is not made so clear as it should be, and the point of Charnacé's mission is obscured. The Swedish king saw the magnitude of the danger in which he was likely to become involved in Germany, and wanted, above all, to secure himself against too great odds. Accordingly he demanded the promise of the French not to make peace in Italy without his consent. This Richelieu refused to do; he was not willing to sacrifice the ends of France to the advantage of Sweden; hence, when the time came, he signed the peace of Rivalta, September 4, 1630, even at the risk of offending Sweden. It might be added that a paragraph recapitulating the connection between the Gonzagas of Mantua and the Nevers family in France in the sixteenth century would have made the Mantuan question clearer.

The chapter on the political ideas of Richelieu is admirable, being based on an intimate study of the *Testament Politique*. The bibliographies, as usual, are excellent. But the interesting study, "*Richelieu Ingénieur*", by Captain De la Barre Duparcq, in the *Compte rendu* of the Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques for 1869 (V<sup>e</sup> série, XIX. 161-255) should be added to the list of authorities at the beginning of book III., chapter 3.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.



*England under the Stuarts.* By G. M. TREVELYAN. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Methuen and Company. 1904. Pp. xvi, 566.)

THE present book by the author of *England in the Age of Wycliffe* is the fifth volume of a series known as *A History of England*, in six volumes, under the general editorship of Mr. C. W. C. Oman. The purpose of this series, as we learn from Mr. Oman's introductory note, is to provide by judicious co-operation of specialists a history of England for the general reader, a person whom he conceives to be much neglected in this age of history-writing. Such a series as this he declares is necessary to keep pace with the new information which for twenty years has come to our knowledge so rapidly and in such bulk as to destroy the value of the older histories. "We see issuing from the press", he continues, "hundreds of monographs, biographies, editions of old texts, selections from correspondence, or collections of statistics, mediæval and modern. But the writers who (like the late Bishop Stubbs or Professor Samuel Gardiner) undertake to tell over again the history of a long period, with the aid of all the newly discovered material, are few indeed." The general public therefore finds no work between a school manual and a minute monograph in answer to its demand for "standard" histories. With this point of view one may have much sympathy, and whatever need there may be of such popular history this book by Mr. Trevelyan is fully competent to meet. But that it bears any such relation to the seventeenth century as the work of Professor Gardiner bears to the period from 1603 to 1660, or that of Bishop Stubbs to the constitutional development of England before 1485 no one could seriously maintain. Such an implication is at once unfair and unfortunate, and the book should not be judged by such a standard.

We have here an account of the history of England from 1603 to 1714 relying for its material almost wholly upon the investigations of others. It is essentially a popular history, and one likely to become so in fact as well as in name. It pretends to no considerable use of sources, and the fact that the *Calendars of State Papers* find bare mention in its bibliography, and the *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* but the scantest of notices, determines its status beyond doubt. It is, unlike the work of Professor Gardiner and Bishop Stubbs, no great original contribution to knowledge. It appeals to the general reader as their work probably never would, and there is every reason to believe that its appeal is likely to be successful. The style is easy, graceful, and picturesque, at times vigorous, and generally convincing. The book is especially strong on the social side, as might be expected. No less than seventy-two pages are given at the outset to a description of the England of 1603-1640, and much more such material finds place in the course of the work. There is a strong, and on the whole successful, attempt throughout to reproduce the atmosphere of each period touched upon. The point of view, the attitude of this

party and that, the condition of society and its classes, the opinions and sentiments of men, their surroundings and relations, these bulk large everywhere. The result is that one may learn here much about why certain things occurred. But he is not always so fortunate in learning just what occurred, or how, or when. The book is, in short, stronger in description and analysis than in narration. From one standpoint it lacks action. But the discussion of this method of treatment would raise again that much-mooted question *What is History?* in a form too great for the limits of this or any review. Mr. Trevelyan has already expressed himself on that subject, and it is only necessary to note that this book exemplifies his conception.

Whether his point of view is responsible for the proportions in the present volume or not, the fact remains that in his hands certain periods seem to gain, in space at least, at the expense of others. This is notably the case in the chapter on William and Mary. The thirteen years which it covers receive but twenty-one pages, as against forty-nine devoted to the twelve years of Queen Anne. The whole period from 1685 to 1702 gets but thirty-nine pages, about the same as the eleven years from 1649 to 1660, whereas the twenty-two years of James I. are allowed fifty-eight pages, Charles I. a hundred and sixty, and Charles II. ninety-five. And though one would deplore the absence of the introductory chapter noted above, its length seems somewhat disproportionate to the scale of the ensuing narrative. This circumstance may not be unconnected with the sources whence the material for the volume was drawn. The basis of the narrative to 1660 is, of course, Gardiner, though this has not been followed slavishly in any sense. Mr. Trevelyan's own knowledge of literature, especially the drama, has contributed not a little, and he has used many other books besides those of Gardiner. And he has, above all, vivified many parts of the story with imaginative touch and telling phrase. This part of the book is in many ways the best.

After 1660 there appears something of a decline in interest and importance. Thenceforth the author leans more upon Ranke, whose work he declares has been "too much neglected". The Restoration is to him little more than the epilogue of the Civil Wars and the prologue of the Revolution. He says, among other things, "The history of the years 1661 to 1678, though crowded with a sequence of famous events and a mob of brilliant men, is yet . . . lacking in unity and . . . barren of decisive result" (p. 349). From the standpoint of court and foreign affairs this is without doubt true. But that is hardly half of the story. The rise of opposition in the Commons and the formation of political parties, if nothing else, gives unity to precisely this period. The struggle for control of accounts during which Clarendon fell; the passage of the Test Act which wrecked the Catholic party and preceded the fall of the Cabal; and the attack on the prerogative in foreign affairs which accompanied the decline and fall of Danby produced results which certainly refute any such dictum as this, even omitting the settlement

of Church and State accomplished during this period. It is, besides, more than questionable whether the stock account of the years immediately preceding the Popish Plot in any sense accords with the facts now coming to light. With respect to the politico-religious situation between 1661 and 1685 it is difficult as yet to speak with much exactness. But the reports of the Corporation Commissioners, in so far as we have them, the lists of preachers and conventicles licensed by 1673, and the situation in Parliament certainly give much ground to question the accepted view.

But it would be unfair to pursue further a criticism of this book for what it does not pretend to be, a scientific history based on original research. It is, on the whole, abreast of the times. It is, on the whole, accurate. It is well conceived, well written, and eminently readable, and is without doubt the best, if not the only, single-volume history of the seventeenth century. Every scholar figures to himself the period in which his special work lies. Any two opinions of the same period would doubtless differ. Yet it is well that some such picture should be drawn for the general reader, and it is fortunate that in this case the picture is so well drawn. One may differ from the spirit which permits a fling at the "dull Germans" who laboriously manufactured a theological system out of Luther's word (p. 153); one might well question the complete accuracy of the account of the situation preceding the expedition of William III. to England (p. 442); one might question such generalizations as the complete exclusion of nonconformists from local and national administration for many generations after 1689 (pp. 450-451). One might have some doubts as to the optimism which voices itself in two such widely separated propositions as that "It was the good fortune of England", in the reign of Anne, "to get all that was good out of both parties, when a few turns of chance would, as often happens, have given her all that was worst" (p. 469); and that "the laws of the Cavalier Parliament, which were meant to dragoon all England into one religion, have helped to secure freedom for a hundred religions, and a thousand ways of thought" (p. 346). One is tempted, in view of this, to reflect that this is, after all, the best of all possible worlds. But, despite these things, one may gladly admit the many virtues of a book which is on the whole so satisfactory.

With respect to the volume aside from the text, it is proper to observe that it is handsomely printed on light-weight paper, convenient to handle, and easy to read. It has a good index and a bibliography which, though complete enough for its purpose, hardly bears out the editor's generous suggestion of a wealth of new material. It does however include a very considerable number of recent and notable books and articles whose influence is apparent throughout the volume. Five maps accompany and illustrate the text, together with three appendixes and tables of genealogies and Parliaments. A few typographical errors serve to emphasize the general excellence of that important part of any book: *weer* for *were* (p. 43); *Woccester* (p. 302); *republican* (p. 209) seems to lack a

final *s*, as *Woods* (p. 417 note) seems to have one to spare; and *Sichell* (p. 531) boasts an *l* too much. Finally, it is unfortunate that the bibliography could not have been arranged somewhat more conveniently within the periods.

WILBUR C. ABBOTT.

*Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain, 1729-1763. The Correspondence of Edmund Pyle, D.D., Chaplain in Ordinary to George II., with Samuel Kerrich, D.D., Vicar of Dersingham, Rector of Wolverton, and Rector of West Newton. Annotated and edited by ALBERT HARTSHORNE. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 388.)*

THE entire collection of letters from which Mr. Albert Hartshorne has selected this volume consists, as he states in the preface, of seven thousand letters, now arranged in twenty-eight folio volumes. They cover the period from 1675 to 1828, a few letters being of earlier date—from 1633. This wealth of material has been somewhat of an embarrassment to Mr. Hartshorne, who possesses moreover an exact and detailed knowledge of the genealogy and career of every individual mentioned in the letters selected. Mr. Hartshorne's life has been spent in archaeological investigation in the Midland counties of England, and his published works are full of the detail and minutiae which necessarily characterize the study which he has made specially his own.

In dealing with the Pyle letters, Mr. Hartshorne has not been able to refrain from overloading his pages with details of the life and genealogy of all the personages whose names occur in the letters—even those most casually mentioned; and much of what he has incorporated in the text is purely of the nature of foot-notes. The introductory biographical notes have somewhat the same characteristic. Much is given by Mr. Hartshorne which is repeated later in the letters, and some exception might be taken to the detail with which the ramifications of Samuel Kerrich's family are gone into. For the understanding of the letters, a much briefer sketch of Kerrich would have sufficed.

It is but an ungrateful task to find fault with an author for telling us too much, and the curious searchers into genealogies may learn much both from the letters and from Mr. Hartshorne's notes. To students of political and ecclesiastical history in the eighteenth century the Pyle letters are of great value. Edmund Pyle, during the period covered by the correspondence, held the livings of Gedney in Lincolnshire and Lynn in Norfolk. Later in the correspondence he became archdeacon of York, and in 1752 "Friend and Companion" to Bishop Hoadly of Winchester. His position as royal chaplain, which he held from 1740, did not bring him into any close relation with George II.; and we learn from his letters nothing of fashionable or court life.

From first to last the absorbing interest of the letters is preferment; and nowhere in English memoirs or letters do we find a more vivid

picture of the constant scramble of ecclesiastics from curates to bishops for livings, additions to income, and higher rank or dignity. The inside history of preferment in the colleges of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge is also laid bare; and few indeed—though not quite lacking—are the instances in which we are told of preferment going unsought to the man who by worth and ability deserved the office. Edmund Pyle had himself little reason for joining in the headlong scramble. Again and again he writes of his perfect content in his easy and agreeable life in which he had “full as much as he knew what to do with”. Yet he cannot withstand the contagion. “When I speak of myself as satisfied with the preferment I have, I speak very sincerely”, he wrote from the Bishop of Winchester’s house at Chelsea in 1756, “. . . if I never get one penny per annum more, I shall never have one moments sollicitude. I do not by this intend you should think that I will not endeavour to get something, if I can, for the service I have performed at Court. Tho’ I do faithfully assure you, I believe, I shall be hard put to it to be a gainer by this pretention” (p. 263).

Pyle’s information as concerns both politics and the church was wide and unusually accurate. He followed the changes in the ministry as well as the coming promotions of churchmen. For the statesmen of the period he has little admiration—not one comes in for cordial respect or commendation. Pitt, in his opinion, “may have been a good Minister, or not, for what I know. But I am sure he is a very inconsistent and shameless man” (p. 358); while Newcastle he describes repeatedly as a “poor puzzle-headed man”. In politics in any larger sense Pyle had little concern; but when it came to the opposition of the Quakers to the payment of tithes, he summons his confrères as “Men of Israel” to fight “pro aris et focis” (p. 69).

The fullness and accuracy of Mr. Hartshorne’s dates and the excellent index add immensely to the value of this volume of eighteenth-century letters for students of this period of English history, and incidentally the letters throw considerable light on English manners and mode of life, and on the condition of medicine during the reign of George II.

A. G. PORRITT.

*The History of England from the Accession of George III. to the Close of Pitt’s First Administration, 1760–1801.* By WILLIAM HUNT, M.A., D.Litt., President of the Royal Historical Society. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xviii, 495.)

THE series of which this volume is the first issued aims to place before the general public the results of “the advance which has been made in the knowledge of English history as a whole” in the last seventy-five years. In doing this the writers are expected to combine “independent thought and research” with “a full knowledge of the works of the best modern historians”. The programme is an excellent

one, and a glance over the list of contributors justifies the hope that it will be adequately carried out. Like all co-operative histories, however, the execution of the task is certain to be unequal, and the present volume will hardly be one of the best.

Mr. Hunt is apparently a partizan of the new Imperialistic school who possesses in addition a fine assortment of old Tory prejudices. For a man of such opinions and such sympathies to pass a correct judgment upon the American Revolution, the French Revolution, the Irish Rebellion, the policy of Pitt, and the acts of his opponents is manifestly impossible. In this fact lies the fundamental criticism of Mr. Hunt's work. Of necessity he believes that England was right in all the long and painful conflicts characterizing the movements above mentioned, and right in almost every act for which she was responsible during those movements. His heroes naturally are the men who supported England in those days, above all George III. and the younger Pitt.

The American Revolution then was a rebellion and the Americans were rebels, and while all means are not justifiable in suppressing rebellion, still all means used to suppress this one were. Even the employment of savages is excused, since if the English had not used them, "they would have fought for the Americans". Yet even Mr. Hunt recognizes that England erred in policy before the war, and he feels that she received a not undeserved lesson in the proper methods of governing colonies. Moreover, he is just in his appreciations of the American leaders, and particularly of Washington.

An Englishman of to-day is much inclined to perceive virtues in his American cousins, or brothers, as he prefers to call them since the Spanish-American war. The French, however, are a different order of beings. So when Mr. Hunt treats of the policy of England during the French Revolution, the French are painted in sombre colors. Burke's perfervid assaults receive approval; the French Declaration of Rights is a "flatulent" document; the proceedings of the National Assembly in the Nootka Sound controversy are "despicable". These instances give the measure of Mr. Hunt's ability to be judicial in his treatment of the Revolution. Of course, when it comes to the war, France is altogether in the wrong. England was forced to accept war, and in accepting it "she was true to herself and finally the saviour of Europe". At the beginning Pitt entered upon the war for disinterested purposes, though as much cannot be said of Austria and Prussia, which nations showed "selfishness and deceit". As only too often happens, however, the virtuous nation failed to convert her companions, and is herself corrupted by them, for the English government becomes "anxious to secure its own share in the conquests from France". This seems rational to Mr. Hunt, though he fails to explain what England's share was, or how she came to have one. All the parties to the war, however, might have secured their "shares", had not Austria been drawn aside by Polish interests. "It is scarcely too much to say", declares the author, "that she virtually betrayed the common cause." This is to

talk like a disappointed cracksman who has lost his haul because his pal has deserted him to attempt an easier and more lucrative job.

France is not only to blame for beginning the war, but she has to bear the responsibility for continuing it, for Mr. Hunt very correctly points out that peace might have been established in 1796 if France had accepted the proposals of the English government. All that England demanded was that France should surrender Belgium and the Milanese, and England would then restore the French colonies. If Mr. Hunt thinks that such terms could be seriously entertained by the French government, he certainly fails to understand the temper of the French people at that time. If any one in 1796 believed that France would make such a sacrifice, at least no one in 1905 is justified in believing it. Nor is it quite sure that any one believed it in 1796. By Mr. Hunt's own statements it appears that George III. did not expect France to accept any such proposals, and only consented to treat because he was confident that the negotiations would be futile, and hoped that their failure would rouse the country to the necessity of supporting the war. In the light of these admissions, it is absurd to talk about the bad faith of the Directory. The truth is that sincerity was wanting on both sides.

Ireland gets little sympathy from Mr. Hunt. Even the atrocities committed in 1798 receive no condemnation worthy of the name, while the policy of the Irish government on that occasion is applauded. Yet that policy, as even the author admits, forced Ireland into rebellion. The Irish union is considered as absolutely essential to the interests of both nations; Pitt is acquitted of the charge of corrupting the Irish parliament in bringing about the union, because the parliament was already corrupt, and he only used the "immemorial methods of dealing with it on a larger scale than before". Pitt is even excused for his admittedly indefensible desertion of the cause of Catholic Emancipation in the face of George III.'s curious conscientious scruples. The king's attitude on that occasion is apparently regretted, but nothing more.

Mr. Hunt can hardly be said to find any fault with Pitt's home policy. Even the savage laws passed during the French Revolution are justified as necessary in the circumstances. "The proceedings of the corresponding and constitutional societies were such as no settled government could leave unpunished." Therefore the frightful punishments meted out to private individuals for a rash word meet with no reprobation.

Some errors of fact and some omissions may be noted. Clarkson should be mentioned in connection with the struggle to abolish the slave-trade; William Gordon's *History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment, of the Independence of the United States* should not be referred to without some mention of the fact that its value as an original source has been questioned; a fuller explanation of the causes of the unpopularity of Lord George Germain in England and of the popularity of Dartmouth in the colonies would probably contain a mention of the battle of Minden and of Dartmouth college; the French cavalry did not capture the Dutch fleet in the Texel; the Terror did not end with the



fall of Robespierre; there was no Austrian Emperor in 1795; the compiler of the *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie* is Fedor Martens, not Karl von Martens; the French Ministry of War in 1793 was not "utterly incompetent"; Pitt did not lay a commercial treaty with France before Parliament in 1787.

After all is said, it must be admitted that Mr. Hunt has made an honest attempt to write the history of England during the years from 1760 to 1801. He has showed commendable zeal in research and in the use of secondary authorities, and his account is for the most part accurate. It is not industry nor honesty that he lacks; it is breadth of mind, it is capacity to see both sides of a question, it is an ability to put aside national prejudices. In justice, however, it must be said that his task was a most difficult one, and perhaps we ought not to expect him to meet all its requirements. Probably no one in this day could write a history of the time which would satisfy the large majority of its readers.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

*Napoleon: the First Phase. Some Chapters on the Boyhood and Youth of Bonaparte, 1769-1793.* By OSCAR BROWNING, M.A. (New York and London: John Lane Company. 1905. Pp. 316.)

MR. BROWNING is well known as a Napoleonic apologete. He is in British politics an anachronism, a survival, what we would style an "old line" Whig, and like Lord Rosebery, to whom he dedicates this volume "in memory of a long and sincere friendship", finds personal delight in proving to the British public, or such of them as will read, that Napoleon though Corsican was not an "ogre". This volume presents an authentic account of Napoleon's boyhood and youth, drawn from all the sources now so well known and so easily accessible to scholars. Its object is frankly stated (p. 14) as that of placing "the character of Napoleon in a more favourable, . . . in a more human, light". Then follows in the preface the well-known Ciceronian tag from the Roman orator's plea for Sulla. There is little to be said of Mr. Browning's success as a book-maker; it is complete. He has carefully gathered the necessary materials and arranged them in excellent order for those to whom French books are sealed. The digest, too, is fair and discriminating; the fifteen illustrations are well chosen; paper and print are generous, almost luxurious. A gentleman's library would be adorned by the sumptuous volume.

But with the best wishes for Mr. Browning in the life task that he has chosen, how true it remains that a man's worst foes are those of his own household. A more wary and tactful apologete would, we think, have avoided the challenge conveyed in the title and in the comparison with Sulla. Lord Rosebery's *Last Phase* was a phase, and was duly noticed in our pages (VI. 565-567) with a view to exposing the futility of defending Napoleon's conduct during his captivity on St. Helena, and abusing that of his jailor and the Tory government then

in power. Here again we have in the so-called *First Phase* the "human" light laboriously brought out as the foremost consideration. The vice or virtue of private character has little importance in true historic perspective. The fact is that Napoleon's boyhood and youth are utterly commonplace. The painful record of his pride, his ambition, his shifts, his sordid views, his versatility, his change of views and policies, and his complete defeat as author, scholar, and soldier is, to be sure, well worth reading, even in the favorable light under which Browning presents it; but not because it greatly illuminates Napoleon's character, rather because it exhibits history working by example upon pliant material. The emperor himself knew that before Toulon there was only a Buonaparte, a boy adventurer; that thereafter there was for the first time a Napoleon Bonaparte, a personage in embryo and development. This is the explanation of his activities during captivity; he felt that as far as possible there was a positive break, a chasm, between Buonaparte and Bonaparte; he desired to emphasize the elemental will-force which opened it; he falsified history in order to display it. The years of captivity were a phase, the planet in declination: the first years were not; that is, in any true sense of opening a career, or of developing a character. Had Napoleone di Buonaparte's genius for failure been further elaborated in the French Bonaparte, there would have been a devolution to the vanishing point. The subject of Browning's story is not a "phase" either of a man or of an epoch in any historical sense.

But why should a Napoleonic knight even mention Sulla in defense of his idol's conduct and attitude? The analogy and parallel are too striking. Sulla; a petty patrician by origin; elevated in his career by a chance; a bandit warrior catering to the base nature of his soldiers both in the gratification of their lust and in delivering his conquests to them for pillage; a would-be *imperator* subjecting the civil to the military power for his own purposes; tempted by Oriental voluptuousness; a farcical "savior of society"; a dictator for the health of his own purse; the falsifier of history, a grim *farceur*; a low adventurer regardless of rights, privilege, property, of life itself, whose whole existence was a mischance and whose permanent influence was nil. These are almost the very points on which a Lanfrey would have seized to vilify Napoleon; it is a pity to recall the sordid and violent quarrels of a passing generation. The Napoleon who was the maker of modern Europe and in a high sense of America; whose sole analogy in history is Alexander the Great; whose work is permanent, enduring, beneficent in the main; this Napoleon is very hard to discover either in the life of Sulla or in the painful story of his first twenty years. It is unfortunate for a philosophic historian to demand the performance of such a complicated duty in readers for whom this book was composed.

*Military Studies.* By FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER. [The International Military Series, No. 8.] (Kansas City, Mo.: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company. 1904. Pp. 227.)

ONE of our best military critics was the late John Codman Ropes, with whose Waterloo studies every one is familiar. From choice he would have been a professional soldier; he possessed a great Napoleonic library, to which, twenty years ago, the reviewer was much indebted; and above all things he enjoyed the society of men who were trained to, or had seen war. A Harvard man, he was fond of the intelligent Harvard student, and it would seem as if our author had gleaned his first aspirations toward military criticism from the friendly converse of Ropes, who not only corrected his first essay, but for whom he later worked in several of the European archives.

This book consists of studies, some of which have already appeared in service magazines, each standing on its own merits, and pretending to no sequence; yet there runs through all a certain affinity. An Oxford as well as a Harvard graduate, Mr. Huidekoper pursues the plans of delving into archives for such stray facts as have not yet been unearthed, and weaving these into the abundant detail already in existence. It is curious to see a civilian with so keen a *flair* for things military; but the author has not only dug into archives, he has studied the authorities; and with a retentive memory and an aptness at seeing likenesses in various campaigns or battles, he has managed to spread before the reader much that is interesting. The author quotes largely from other critics, with numerous foot-notes, and, the essays having been written at different times, a quotation is occasionally repeated. He exhibits singular ingenuity in dovetailing the maxims of the great masters of war into his recital. One cannot always agree with his opinions or conclusions—no two military critics ever do, and in the first paragraph of the first essay one is tempted to take issue with him—but no one can fail to find him suggestive, if occasionally overpositive.

Some students of Napoleon's wonderful career are apt to forget Frederick. Not so Mr. Huidekoper, who points him out as the great tactician, while Napoleon was the great strategist; and as of the two strategy is the greater art, so also was its exponent the greater man—although the king often touches a sympathetic chord the emperor does not. Most of us forget that war as a science is not much over a hundred years old, and that those rules for conducting war of which we all now talk so glibly were quite unknown until Frederick and Lloyd and Jomini and Napoleon had put their thoughts into printed pages. Like most inventions, the first attempt is crude; and it is not by subsequent inventions, so much as by subsequent improvements, that an art or a device becomes useful. Thomas Saint patented a sewing-machine in 1792. Without knowing this, Elias Howe invented one in 1845. The first was a useless machine, the second a crude one, and Howe would have gazed open-eyed at an operator running several machines, each

at a speed of thousands of stitches a minute, and doing good work; and this result was brought about not so much by subsequent invention as by improvement. So with war. Now that its principles are public property, it can be improved, and all soldiers can be trained in them; but until within three generations its conduct depended on the personal inspiration of the general. Yet great minds in war were led to similar conclusions. Speaking of the oblique order, "If Frederick invented this manœuvre, he invented war, which, unfortunately, is as old as the world," said Napoleon; but the first historical examples which we have of the crisp oblique order were in the victories ("the twin-daughters") of Epaminondas; and as crisp a sample of this order was not again given until Leuthen. Mr. Huidekoper leaves out (p. 101) the name of Epaminondas in his list of those who used the oblique order; yet it does not seem that, in any of the great battles he mentions, this order was employed in the same manner or with the same intent as were shown at Leuctra and Leuthen.

It is natural that Mr. Huidekoper should devote most of his studies to Napoleon, only one of his five essays excluding this great soldier; and in the article on "Napoleonic Strategy" he points out (p. 106) five important characteristics: (1) the initiative; (2) a single line of operation; (3) the unity of forces; (4) rapidity of movement on decisive points; (5) concentration before battle. To these five—unless "decisive points" be construed to include it—might be added, "threatening the enemy's communications while conserving one's own"; for this appears in nearly all Napoleon's great operations, and to this he often owed the safety of his boldness. "The secret of war lies in the secret of communications. Keep your own and attack your enemy's in such a way that a lost battle may not harm you, a battle won may ruin your adversary. Seize your enemy's communications and then march to battle." The single line of operation is more suited to small armies than to the enormous ones of to-day. Napoleon himself advanced down the Danube while Eugene marched up from Italy in 1809; and in 1812 there were three columns moving into Russia, as there were three great roads leading into the Russian frontier. Nevertheless, with the modifications demanded by the conditions, Napoleon always did advance on one line. But he often had a second line of retreat open.

The five essays in this book relate to: Grouchy's part at Waterloo; a comparison of Kolin, Rossbach, Gravelotte, and Leuthen; a comparison of Jena, Mars la Tour, and Vionville; Napoleonic strategy; Eckmühl; and to illustrate the topography of which the author treats there are sixteen folding maps, which suffice, though not over-well drawn. The type is good and easy to read. The manufacture of the book is fair, and except that Mr. Huidekoper suffers, as we all do, from an occasional slip in proof-reading, there is little to criticize.

Although each essay possesses its own interest, the volume lacks homogeneity, as every book of studies must; but it has throughout the same flavor, and fairly bristles with maxims and apt quotations. The

reviewer happens to know that the author has long been engaged on another work, to which he has already devoted several years, and for which abundant success is predicted; and as he has many years of work before him, he is cordially welcomed into the ranks of those who have striven to make military studies interesting to the general public. He may yet accomplish more than most of us.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

*Life of Canning.* By H. W. V. TEMPERLEY. (London: James Finch and Company. 1905. Pp. 293.)

MUCH attention has recently been directed in England to a study of Canning's statesmanship, and at least two brief biographies have appeared since 1903. Mr. Temperley is however wholly right in asserting that no thorough or satisfactory biography has ever been produced, and the field was certainly open to him in the attempt to supply this want. He claims to have done so, and if his book were accepted at the value asserted in the introductory chapter, the present volume would unquestionably take rank as a first-class biography. Mr. Temperley states that he has searched records, unearthing a mass of new and striking material, and that by the use of this material he has, he thinks, settled forever certain controverted points. His note of almost arrogant over-confidence is unfortunate in an introduction, and becomes fatal to a ready belief in the author's deductions, when continued throughout the work. It is in truth a distinct flaw, and the chief one in Mr. Temperley's manner of presentation.

The new sources utilized are "the drafts of Canning's official despatches in the Record Office, . . . Castlereagh's despatches—from 1818 onwards—of which the secret and supplementary despatches to Stewart are of immense value and importance as exhibiting the real tendencies of his mind and policy. . . . about twenty original letters of Canning which throw light on some obscure points of his life and especially on his work at the Board of Control", and "the papers and correspondence of Sir Robert Wilson who was acquainted with the chief Liberal leaders of the English Opposition and was also a friend and confidant of Canning". A long list is given also of the printed works used by the author. It will be noted at once that these new sources bear very little on Canning's earlier career, and in fact the author gives not a single reference to other than printed works for any incident earlier than 1807. His own work is then distinctly a study of Canning's later years, and in particular of Canning as a minister.

Without furnishing detailed proof, it may be stated that Mr. Temperley has so far succeeded in his purpose as to have produced the best biography of Canning that has yet been written; the best, that is, in the matter of new material presented in orderly fashion, and in the just deductions drawn from that material. It will be difficult to deny the justice of the defense here offered for Canning's Danish expedition (though in this the author does not agree with Mr. J. H. Rose), or to

overthrow the weight of proof brought to show that Canning's succession to Castlereagh marked an epoch in English diplomatic history. It is also emphatically asserted, and apparently proved, that Canning in the affairs of the Spanish colonies and of Greece was animated by a desire to improve world conditions as well as by his conception of what was demanded by purely English interests. The more recent belief in regard to Canning's foreign policy has been that it was wholly insular, but it will need strong evidence to controvert the proof offered by Mr. Temperley. But in other respects this biography is sadly lacking. The author has centred his study so much upon those episodes with which his new material deals that other activities of his hero (and the work is distinctly a bit of hero-worship) are too briefly and often erroneously treated. He tells us that Canning's attitude toward the United States was at all times one of "honorable conciliation", and that had Canning been steadily in power there would have been no difficulty with that nation. This is not an intentional denial of what Mr. Henry Adams has written, for there is no evidence that the author has any knowledge of that writer's *History*. The example cited illustrates a fault pervading the entire volume, and one to which those who have found a mine of "new material" are peculiarly liable—the neglect of older printed works that in their time were based on careful studies of the material then available. The sense then in which it may be conceded that this is the best biography of Canning yet published is that it is at least a beginning in the right direction, and that in certain aspects of Canning's career the author's judgment is sound and his proofs are sufficient. But it must be repeated that the argumentative form of expression employed is unfortunate, for it necessarily lessens one's confidence in the author's impartiality, and may easily, by its irritating effect, blind the reader to the real merits of the work actually accomplished.

E. D. ADAMS.

#### BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

*A History of the United States.* By EDWARD CHANNING. Vol. I. *The Planting of a Nation in the New World, 1600-1660.* (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xi, 550.)

It is now seventy-one years since George Bancroft published the first volume of his *History of the United States*. Since that time Richard Hildreth is the only historian who has undertaken and carried through to a fair degree of completion the project of a detailed narrative history of our country from its beginnings based on first-hand study of the sources. George Tucker's *History of the United States* is omitted because his treatment of the colonial period was a mere outline sketch. This formidable task is now again attempted by a scholar of high attainments and established reputation. A comparison of the work of

these two New England historians just two generations apart, each representing the best historical knowledge of his day, will henceforth offer an interesting opportunity to measure the progress of our knowledge and in some degree the changes in opinion during these years of great advance in historical study and momentous political experience. Such a comparison will be particularly instructive as Professor Channing approaches the Revolution, a period to which he has long devoted study and also the part of his field which called forth Bancroft's best powers as an investigator and writer. Such a comparison so far as the first volumes of these two works is concerned will show a strikingly similar allotment of space to the respective topics, and many will be surprised at the comparatively slight divergence so far as the broad general facts are concerned. The most striking case that I noticed is afforded by the two accounts of Cabeza de Vaca. Bancroft's description of his wanderings in his first edition was strangely different from the views accepted to-day. Bancroft, again, describes De Soto's expedition with critical care, but omits even the mention of Coronado's exploration, which Professor Channing treats in greater detail than he does De Soto's expedition.

Professor Channing has before him the task of covering the last two-thirds of the nineteenth century in addition to what Bancroft originally planned to embrace in his history. It is then with some misgiving that one finds Professor Channing giving as much space to the history down to 1660 as Bancroft gave in his first edition. Or to take another comparison: to the English colonies from 1607 to 1660 he has devoted half again as much space as is allotted to the same subject in *The American Nation*. In other words, to that period Professor Hart assigned about one-twenty-fourth of his total space and Professor Channing about one-ninth. Obviously this ratio will have to be reversed in the later periods if Professor Channing completes his work in eight volumes. On the other hand, his allotment of space to this first period does not greatly differ from the proportion assigned in his *Students' History*, and may very possibly come nearer meeting the existing public interest in the various portions of our history than the scale which steadily expands in detail.

The most distinctive utterance in Professor Channing's preface is his announcement that he has "considered the colonies as parts of the English empire, as having sprung from that political fabric, and as having simply pursued a course of institutional evolution unlike that of the branch of the English race which remained behind in the old homeland across the Atlantic." That he has successfully carried out this purpose will, I think, not be seriously questioned, and the reader cannot help being impressed with the range of the author's knowledge of English history and life in the seventeenth century. Indeed, sometimes this wealth of knowledge leads him into digressions, always interesting and instructive, but which a stricter regard for proportions



and symmetry in the narrative would have assigned to an appendix; for example, the description of the Elizabethan war-ships.

It is rarely that I have read over the story of the founding of the colonies with greater interest than was the case with this work. The narrative is direct and lucid, and confidence is at once inspired in the general validity of the results. Controverted questions are briefly but precisely treated in foot-notes or appendixes, and the sources of the narrative are exactly indicated. The bibliographical chapters are admirable, and one recognizes that the judgments passed are based on first-hand knowledge.

Such criticisms as are here suggested deal with smaller details connected with the period of discoveries. Professor Channing's negative criticism seems to me at times rather too sweeping in character. For example, on p. 87 he remarks, "There is no satisfactory account at first hand of De Soto's expedition . . . who the 'Gentleman of Elvas' may have been, or when he wrote, or what his sources of information were, are not known." It is true that we cannot identify the "Gentleman of Elvas" by name as a particular one of several Portuguese. If we could, however, it would not increase the value of the narrative. We do not know the year in which he wrote his account, but it was written between 1542 and 1557. His sources were his own observations, which were recorded at the time, if we can judge from the fact that he commonly gives the day of the week as well as the day of the month on which incidents occurred. Whether his account is "satisfactory" is of course a matter of opinion, but I think that the average student would get a definitely wrong impression in this instance from the text. Again, in regard to the voyage of Estevan Gomez, Professor Channing remarks (p. 62): "It is certain that he made a northern voyage and found no strait; but there is nothing else about the voyage that can be stated with confidence." In a foot-note it is said that the evidence for the voyage is a passage in Herrera and the inscription on the Ribero map. For Herrera should be substituted Peter Martyr and the geographer Santa Cruz, as contemporary sources. Why the information as to the field explored and the character of the region that is inscribed on the Ribero map, which was made in Spain within three years, cannot "be stated with confidence" is not at all clear to me. Again, on pages 152-153 it is asserted that "no living person had then [in 1603] the slightest conception of the size of North America". If the reader will glance at the map prepared for Hakluyt's edition of Peter Martyr in 1587, reproduced in my *Spain in America* between pages 284 and 285, or at Mercator's map of the same year, and recollect that the narrative of De Soto's expedition had been published for nearly half a century and that Hakluyt had already published some of the Coronado narratives, it will be clear that this statement is much too sweeping, and that if the early English colonists were so completely ignorant as the text implies, there was really no excuse for it.

Professor Channing says of Toscanelli's letters, "it seems likely that Columbus, instead of carrying the letters with him in the guise of sailing directions, had forgotten all about them in the years which had elapsed between their reception and 1492; for he sailed over the place where Antilia should have been and never thought it worth while to make any mention of the fact" (p. 17). It is usually affirmed, following Las Casas, that Columbus had the map of Toscanelli with him. In any case, mention is made in the Journal of islands in the general neighborhood of where Antilia was located by Toscanelli; for example, on September 25 Columbus and Martin Pinzon agreed that they were in the region of some islands depicted on a map which the Admiral had brought. Again, on October 3 the Admiral refused to beat about in search of land although there were signs of its nearness and "he had information of certain islands in this region". If the Toscanelli letters are genuine and Columbus saw them at the time supposed, it would be most extraordinary if he had forgotten all about them by 1492. The real difficulty is that Columbus expected to find Cipango about 2,000 miles nearer Europe than it is represented to be in the Toscanelli letters.

It is a slip to remark on p. 29 that Las Casas accompanied Columbus on his fourth voyage. It seems to me, also, misleading to say (p. 116) that "negroes were brought to the New World at the suggestion of the saintly Las Casas to alleviate the lot of the unhappy and fast disappearing red man". It is a fairly safe assertion that the history of the introduction of negro slavery into the New World would have been substantially what it was if Las Casas had never been born. The evidence for this is briefly given in *Spain in America*, pp. 269-271. It is certainly an error to describe Giles Firmin in 1647 as "the earliest medical lecturer in America" (p. 434), unless by America the United States is meant. A chair of medicine was established in the University of Mexico in 1578 and degrees in medicine were conferred earlier. Agustin Farfán, an occupant of this chair, published in 1579 his *Tratado breve de Medicina*, which went through four editions.

The list of such errata or debatable points I shall not extend. It would not be long, and in regard to many of them there is room for two opinions. That the points that have been mentioned belong to the "mint and anise and cummin" of criticism and do not relate to the weightier matters of the law may be taken to indicate that the reviewer found much to interest and instruct him and little to cavil at, and that he gladly recognizes the first volume of *A History of the United States* as not only an admirable specimen of historical scholarship, but also a successful effort to present the results of scholarship in an attractive form for the growing body of readers interested in American history.

EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 3. *Spain in America, 1450-1580.* By EDWARD GAYLORD BOURNE, Ph.D., Professor of History, Yale University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1904. Pp. xx. 350.)

THIS volume deals with two allied but distinct subjects, namely, the discovery and exploration of the New World, and Spanish colonial policy and administration with the effects on the conquered races and the colonists—subjects of sufficient interest and importance to have deserved separate volumes. But for Professor Bourne's mastery of his material and his lucid style, the result might have been disastrous; but as both the author, and the general editor for him, claim only to have selected and summarized, the reviewer perhaps, while criticizing the plan, has no right to complain because the former has not done more than he set out to do.

Concerning Columbus Professor Bourne has used and collated the latest investigations and has added some shrewd inferences of his own tending to prove the discoverer's originality and imaginative insight; but the aura of America was already felt in Europe, and even if Columbus had never returned, the discovery would probably have been made before Cabral sighted Brazil in 1500. The author is undoubtedly right in assigning Magellan a much higher place on the roll of navigators. We have a most interesting chapter devoted to the mysterious Amerigo Vespucci and the naming of America, and then a sketch of the progress of exploration, but Professor Bourne does not bring out the fact that its direction did not follow the line of least resistance, of scientific probability, or of advantageous settlement, but was simply conditioned by the prospect of gold. Rumors of gold at any point speedily caused the appearance of a devastating Spanish exploring expedition. While attractive to individual adventurers, America to the Spanish government was for long but an awkward and almost unwelcome barrier to the coveted passage to the Spice Islands. Thence the efforts to find a strait and the attempts at circumnavigation, the only essays at scientific discovery. It was not until the Potosi mines were found in 1545 that the New World was anything but a source of weakness to Spain, and then the Potosi silver, by enabling Philip II. to make war on western Europe with really insufficient resources, accelerated the ruin of the mother-country.

The record of achievement in exploration between 1492 and 1580 must be read with some limitations. Thrust with European equipment into tropical surroundings, unhealthily clad, exposed to new diseases and new forms of death, opposed by the luxuriance of tropical vegetation, vast distances, and equatorial rains, the land journeys of the conquistadors are as heroic in their tale of stubborn endurance as anything in human story, although the motives were mean and sordid and the natives were seldom able to offer effective resistance. That the

maritime exploration was relatively successful was due to the fact that it proceeded mainly in the form of coasting voyages from centres in the new conquests and not from Spain; it was not prosecuted with enthusiasm, for the Spaniards have never produced a sailorman in the sense the great seafaring races understand the word. The success of Columbus was largely due to the fact that, for political reasons, he started from the Canaries, and then the trade-wind—"the wind the seamen love . . . steady and strong and true"—took charge. Had he taken his departure from the Azores and got into the Roaring Forties, his mutinous crews would soon have forced him to come back, or he would never have been heard of again. The Spaniards quickly found that it was practically compulsory to go northward for the homeward passage, and their chronicle of shipwreck on those parallels from bad ship-building and bad seamanship is startling. However Professor Bourne does not minimize their success, for he credits Francisco de Hoces (p. 191) with the discovery of Cape Horn in 1526, while all that Urdañeta himself claimed was, "que les parecia [on board the *San Lesmes*] que era alli acabamiento de tierra", when the ship was driven southward. The balance of English opinion is in favor of Drake in 1578, and the question is at least *sub judice*.

The Spanish government merits praise for the careful collection and collation of geographical information likely to be useful to navigation at a time when the compilation and comparison of such knowledge elsewhere was left to chance or private enterprise. The pilot department of the Casa de Contratación was founded not later than 1508, and in that year the pilot-major was ordered to prepare a standard chart, the *Padron Real*, on which all discoveries and corrections were to be marked, and from it all navigating charts were to be copied. The tendency toward theoretical excellence has always been more marked in Spanish administration than the capacity to achieve success in practice, and throughout the sixteenth century the laxness and dishonesty of the pilot department of the Casa was held responsible for the ignorant pilots it turned out notwithstanding the careful tuition and stringent examination existing in theory. In print and in theory, however, Spain kept the lead; the first text-book on navigation was published in 1519, speedily followed by others, and during the remainder of the century English and French works on the subject were copied from their Spanish forerunners or based on them. But it is quite a mistake to say (p. 223) that the English Trinity House was an imperfect imitation of the Spanish institution. The Trinity House was a shipmen gild long before it was reincorporated in 1514, and it has never had other than occasional and subordinate relations with the English navy. The Spanish pilot department was the precursor of the hydrographical departments now a part of every admiralty, but in England no move was made by the navy authorities toward the charting of even home waters until the reign of Charles II., and another century elapsed before the North American coast was surveyed.

Less than half of the volume under review is devoted to the colonial administration of Spain, and here Professor Bourne maintains the unsatisfactory thesis that the disappearance of the native races was inevitable. He dwells on the repeated destruction of native peoples brought into contact with civilized and conquering races; but the rule does not appear to be invariable, and in neither law nor ethics is the fact that the victim is unadaptable to new conditions held to be a palliation of murder. There are incidental and general references to Spanish cruelties, but the reader will hardly gather from them that the process of adaptation, as practised by the conquistadors, included burning, roasting, mutilating, whipping, starving to death, tearing to pieces with dogs, and every new form of torture, especially on the Indian women, that could be invented by the scum of the Spanish gutters, until, as another American historian (Mr. Lea) writes, "a more terrible story never shocked humanity. Horrors are piled upon horrors until the sense becomes blunted." In *Española*, in little more than twenty years, contemporary Spanish observers, some of them government officials, estimated that the native population fell from upward of a million to ten or fourteen thousand people, but the author has unearthed a German savant who reduces the population at the discovery to between 200,000 and 300,000. Most of us prefer contemporary authority, as does the author usually. In consequence of his standpoint Professor Bourne says (p. 202) that "what Rome did for Spain, Spain in turn did for Spanish America". Not so. Rome gave its conquered subjects the Roman peace, free commerce, a literature, political ambitions, and social life; Spain gave the Spanish fury, a strangled trade, and, at the best, a mechanical and soulless existence devoid of intellectual hope or moral stimulus. Nor can any extenuation be found in the formation of new nations able to carry on the tradition of all that was good in the historical life of the mother-country, and themselves qualified to help the progress of humanity. The history of the South American states since their independence is damnatory of Spanish statesmanship. We read (p. 196) that the Spaniards "undertook the magnificent if impossible task of lifting a whole race numbering millions into the sphere of European thought, life, and religion". It would rather seem that the whole object of Spanish legislation was to keep the colonies free from the taint of European life and thought, while enforcing a superficial and external conformity in religious observance, the outcome of legal compulsion more than of spiritual conviction. The author insists on the excellence of the code of laws for the Indies, and it is true enough that it is, in the letter, a creditable record of good intentions, although it may be objected that, if the laws had been carried out in the spirit, they would at the best have kept the American populations in leading-strings and in a state of political and intellectual childhood. But it is common knowledge that, whatever the intentions of a few legislators or reformers, the Spanish government was never strong enough nor honest enough to enforce obedience to its orders, and for those with influence

or who could afford to buy impunity the laws protecting the Indians were merely curious literature. Nor were the colonists of Spanish blood in much better case. Professor Bourne seems to find something good to say for the system of selling government appointments, and there may not be much difference in results between that and the custom of social or political bribery and patronage which has succeeded it. The colonial grievance, however, was that Americans were not allowed even to purchase, that the fact of American birth was a congenital disqualification, and that every employment from that of viceroy to clerk was reserved for European Spaniards. For the American Spaniard therefore an official career was closed from the beginning; commercial success was interdicted because colonial agriculture and manufactures would compete with the Spanish; and intellectual progress was forbidden because instruction in science, or anything beyond the dialectic of the schools, would tend to introduce European aspirations and ambitions.

If the object of civilization be the increase of human happiness and well-being, it is disputable whether, outside Mexico, that introduced by the Spaniards was any advance on the pre-existing forms it supplanted by brute force; or whether the civilizations of Peru and Mexico did not contain a potentiality of progress beyond anything possible to Spain, in some respects the least fitted of European nations to undertake the task of guardianship and training. To me the story of Spanish conquest and legislation is a squalid one, and it will be seen that I am at issue with some of Professor Bourne's conclusions. The author, however, has a right to have it said that in scholarship and construction he has produced the best synopsis of the subject existing within the limits of a single volume, and that his careful references and a valuable bibliography enhance the utility of the book to the student who desires to inquire for himself.

M. OPPENHEIM.

*The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century.* By HERBERT L. OSGOOD, Ph.D., Professor of History in Columbia University. Vols. I. and II. *The Chartered Colonies. Beginnings of Self-Government.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1904. Pp. xxxii, 578; xix, 490.)

In these volumes Professor Osgood has given us the first instalment of an institutional history of the British colonies in North America, a work finely conceived and destined, when completed, to occupy a place of first importance in the literature of American history. Following the plan which he outlines in his introduction, he has limited his field of observation to the colonies that separated from Great Britain and to the period of the seventeenth century; and in the volumes thus far published he has dealt with the internal history of the chartered colonies only, that is, of those that were proprietary and corporate. In a third volume soon to follow he will deal with the larger question of British

imperial control and the relations of the colonies to "the sovereign power from which their existence sprang" and to which they owed legal obedience. For this reason he has omitted from the present volumes the history of Virginia after 1624, of New York after 1685, of Maryland after 1689—the only royal colonies of the century; of Massachusetts in its controversy with the crown after 1660, and of New England during the Andros régime. While this arrangement seriously affects the chronological sequence of events as far as the history of industrial colonies is concerned, it is the only possible arrangement in view of the author's purpose to preserve intact the unity of the British imperial system.

Professor Osgood has concentrated his attention upon forms of government and administration and has interpreted them strictly from the standpoint of public law. He has little interest in other aspects of colonial history and chronology, and has employed persons, incidents, and dates only as far as they elucidate some phase of the particular subject that he has in hand. In classifying his data he has taken as the basis of his arrangement peculiarities that are legal and institutional, such as the legal aspects of early colonizing experiments; colonial corporations and proprietors in the light of private and public law; forms of colonial governments as defined by and developed under the charters; the sources of political power and the distribution of executive, legislative, and judicial authority in the colonies themselves; the relation of colonial government to the church, to administration, to legislation, to the judiciary, to the land system, and to the means of defense; and, finally, the legal relations between the colonies and the mother-country. As a whole the work is the first adequate account of the origin, character, and development of the American colonies as institutions of government and as parts of a great colonial system; and it displays on the part of the author a wide and deep knowledge of the documentary evidence for colonial history and rare powers of analysis and interpretation.

After an able introduction in which he explains his purpose, Professor Osgood traces the history of early colonization from the Cabot and Ashehurst feudal grants to the mixed feudal and commercial undertakings of Gilbert and Raleigh. He shows that the Virginia enterprise of 1606–1607 was proprietary and commercial rather than feudal, and ended in the founding of a crude form of colonial settlement, the plantation colony, in which the colonists occupied the legal position of servants. This earliest British experiment, at first but rudimentary and transitional, did not become successful until the colony passed from the monopolistic organization of the plantation to the self-supporting system of a group of settlements.

Turning to the Plymouth Company, Professor Osgood analyzes the reasons for the failure of its early experiments and then examines the transformation of the company into the New England Council. His treatment of this difficult subject is admirable, particularly of that portion dealing with the career of the council as a land-granting body. In order to form a connecting link between the Virginia and New Eng-



land systems, he studies at this juncture the history of Plymouth as a proprietary plantation conceived on the Virginia model, though the Plymouth people, unlike those of Jamestown and Salem, never occupied the position of servants.

Continuing his treatment of the same subject, Professor Osgood discusses the colonial policy of the New England Council, which seemed to promise the establishment of something better than a plantation colony. Yet from all its efforts came but one permanent settlement, that of Salem, which was not a colony after the Gorges plan but only the last of the proprietary plantations in their earliest form, for the impulse to its settlement came from outside the council. The Salem proprietors or Massachusetts adventurers, to whom the council granted land, became, under the operation of the statute of *Quia Emptores*, tenants of the crown, and in receiving a charter from the king obtained powers similar to those of the London Company after 1609. The colony which they founded at Salem offers nothing distinctive as compared with that at Jamestown under Governor Dale except its religious motives. Massachusetts was, therefore, at first a proprietary province in which the company managed its estate so as to obtain a profit. But after a year the company crossed with its charter and governing body to New England and entered upon its transformation from a trading-company into a commonwealth, that is, passed from the domain of private into that of public law. Professor Osgood examines this process and studies the commonwealth in all its aspects, executive, judicial, and religio-political. These chapters, than which none are more illuminating, disclose the working of the Puritan political and ecclesiastical organization, in which freedom was sacrificed to strength and security. He defends the colony in its policy of self-preservation and deems it warranted in its attitude toward the Antinomians, Anglicans, Presbyterians, and Baptists, all of whom endangered the integrity of the colony. For its treatment of the Quakers, however, he can find no adequate excuse.

Having analyzed the corporate system of Massachusetts, Professor Osgood passes in review the similar systems of Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, and Rhode Island, and then turns northward to New Hampshire and Maine. He is probably justified in devoting but a brief space to the settlements on the Piscataqua, but it would seem that something more might have been made of the early history of Portsmouth, obscure though it is, as illustrating the plantation colony. With additional chapters on intercolonial relations and on the land and financial systems of New England he completes his study of the institutional organization of the northern colonies, and in his second volume takes up the proprietary province.

Having shown that the corporate colonies, in that they bore no traces of the fief, were dependencies of an industrial and political type and so essentially modern, Professor Osgood brings into sharp relief the proprietary province, which in many respects was feudal and enjoyed regal powers that were drawn from the palatinate, though differing in detail

from those of the bishop of Durham. He takes advantage of the opportunity offered by the institutions of Maryland, Carolina, and Pennsylvania to apply the comparative method, and with Maryland as his model deals first with the forms and incidents of land tenure—the patroonships, manors, feudal income, quitrents, and land offices, closing with a careful study of the land basis of such towns as Perth Amboy, Germantown, Annapolis, and Charleston. He next takes up the legislative, executive, and administrative systems of the proprietary provinces, and finally passes to the colonial organization of New Netherland. He studies the Dutch institutions with great fullness, traces the transition to the English government and the substitution of English laws and English officials, and carries the history of the legislature in New York to 1685. Chapters eight to eleven of the second volume are devoted to an analysis of the governmental system of New Jersey and of the working of the proprietary system of Pennsylvania and the Carolinas. Additional chapters follow on the judicial, ecclesiastical, military, and financial organization of the proprietaries; and final chapters in each volume deal with Indian relations. A fitting conclusion brings the work to an end and serves as a connecting link with the volume that is to follow.

In briefest outlines, these are the prominent features of this notable work. It is a severe and unimpassioned, but highly suggestive, interpretation of the legal and institutional aspects of colonial history, written in a restrained and eminently judicial spirit. The evidence, which with but a single exception is drawn from printed sources, is weighed with consistent impartiality, each charter, concession, and legislative act being dissected with great minuteness of detail; and the material compared and distributed with logical exactness until the whole takes on an orderly form, and we see for the first time what was the institutional organization of the colonies in the seventeenth century. The work does not pretend to tell the whole tale nor even to present some of its most striking features, and for this reason its title is misleading. But it is not likely to interest the public at large, because Professor Osgood, in accentuating the legal aspects of his subject, has eliminated very largely the human elements and has given to his treatment some of the characteristics of scientific precision. Such a work is manifestly designed for serious readers only, professional or otherwise.

As a whole these volumes offer very little opportunity for serious criticism and are remarkably free from errors of any kind. Dependent as the work is on the texts of official documents and records, it tends to a certain formality and stiffness of treatment that at times seems to ignore the deeper reasons for things. The fact that the material is classified by subjects, each of which is treated independently in a separate chapter, often renders it difficult to see the interworking of the various colonial activities; and one feels occasionally a want of organic unity in the construction of the whole. There is, furthermore, a tendency in some of the chapters to overload the treatment with details, the

bearing and significance of which are not always clear. This is notably true of the chapter on the land system of New England, a chapter full of valuable information, but loosely put together and difficult to comprehend, partly because of an absence of generalizations and partly because of a failure to lay adequate stress on those features, common to all the early town allotments, that disclose the collective activity of the New England community. The chapter on King Philip's War is too long if we consider that it was Professor Osgood's purpose to present the subject simply from the standpoint of administration and because of the light that it throws on "the problem of securing the joint action against a common enemy of three or more colonists" (I. 544). A part of the space might reasonably have been given to an examination of schools and education as far as they were matters of public concern.

The reader interested in the evolution of the colonial charter may wonder why Professor Osgood has omitted all mention of the Avalon, Alexander, and Heath patents embodying tenure by knight service. The Avalon patent with its tenure *in capite* and its yearly rendering of a white horse is in this connection as important as is that of Ashelhurst involving fealty without payment. It is even more instructive in that it provides for an assembly of freeholders and thus furnishes a connecting link between the feudal and the democratic systems. I am not at all satisfied with the common explanation, which Professor Osgood accepts, of the reservation of gold and silver as the fixed rent which in socage tenure discharged all service. The one-fifth or other fraction seems to me to partake rather of the character of a royal reservation which was occasional and uncertain like wrecks, whales, and treasure-trove. If it was considered the equivalent of a fixed rent it was a Barmecidal feast as far as actual revenue was concerned. Governor Pitkin of Connecticut declared in 1767 that it took the place of quit-rents in that colony, a view that the Lords of the Treasury may well have deemed humorous. As there were charters containing both rent and reservation and others that contained neither, it would be well if the matter were more fully investigated.

In discussing the vexed question of the right of Berkeley and Carteret to exercise governmental powers, Professor Osgood concludes that the Duke of York's lease did not convey such powers, and thus goes far to justify Andros in his dealings with the Jerseys. In fact, the general view that Professor Osgood has taken renders it inevitable that he uphold constituted authority and defend the legal view of each disputed case. Few such cases have come within the scope of the present volumes, but in the volume that is to follow too strict an adherence to the letter of the law will make it difficult for him to present both sides with the fairness he has shown in the work thus far. If he is right in deeming the Concessions a failure in the Jerseys and successful only in the Carolinas, he lays, it seems to me, too little stress upon the political training of the New-Englanders in that colony who refused to accept any constitution thrust upon them from above (II. 173-174). On the other

hand, I believe that he has exaggerated the importance of the New-Englanders in South Carolina when he finds a nonconformist trend in the development of the province and thinks that the settlement of 1666 was wrecked because of the presence there of representatives of the New England interest (II. 200-201). In considering the difficult question of the authorship of the Concessions, he suggests that they originated with the planters from Barbadoes (II. 206). The suggestion is a happy one. The close connection that existed between Barbadoes and England during the later days of the Protectorate and the equally close connection that existed between the West India merchants and the colonial policy of the Restoration give good reason for believing that Barbadoes was the source of many of the ideas of government that were embodied in proprietary concessions after 1663.

Professor Osgood leaves the impression, though I doubt if he intended to do so, that the Lords of Trade shared with the king the responsibility for the rejection of the New York "Charter of Liberties" of 1683 (II. 167). It is true, as he states, that they found many objections to the "Charter", but he does not make it clear that they had no part in "the resolve" (II. 168) that assemblies should be dispensed with, and that they never would have rejected the "Charter" simply because it emanated from a popular body, as James II. finally did because he wished to get rid of both "Charter" and assembly. There is a famous scene at a cabinet council when Lord Savile "upon occasion of gov't to be settled in New England" argued "for the liberty of the people", and Lord Jeffreys replied that "whosoever capitulateth, rebelleth", with the result that, as Barillon tells us, "it was determined not to subject the governor and council to convoke general assemblies of the people for the purpose of laying on taxes and regulating other matters of importance". This action was taken in December, 1684, less than four months before the rejection of the "Charter", and explains much more certainly why the "Charter" was disallowed than do the objections raised by the Lords of Trade.

In his introduction (I. xxxi) Professor Osgood advances the opinion that the dissolution of the London Company in 1624 and the attack on the Massachusetts charter in 1635-1637 were parts of a definite royal policy which would have been continued had not the Stuarts been overthrown. This statement does not seem to me capable of proof, for the Stuarts had no fixed plan governing their attitude toward the colonies, and no possible connection can be traced between the events of 1624 and those of 1682 to 1686. The later plan of reducing the proprietries was not the king's but the merchants'. It developed under Cromwell and was identified with the mercantilist movement that gave birth to the navigation acts and the plantation councils and officials. It was urged by the Council for Foreign Plantations in 1661, by the Council for Trade and Plantations in 1672, and by the Lords of Trade in 1682. It never was a royal, much less a Stuart policy. Charles II. refused to adopt it; James II. adopted it to be sure, but so did William III. and

his successors; and it is noteworthy that some of the most strenuous efforts to overthrow the proprieties were made after 1700. As far as colonial history is concerned there is a wide reach not only in time but in ideas also between the reigns of James I. and James II., and any attempt to find a common policy connecting the two periods will be vain.

In conclusion a few additional points may be noted. The Mariana grant of 1622 can hardly be said to contain express powers of government, as the powers are undefined in that instrument (I. 126). Newark was settled by people not only from Branford but from other Connecticut coast towns as well (I. 435). Quakers did not appear in Connecticut in 1656 (I. 314). Berkeley did not sell his share of New Jersey to Fenwick by Byllynge but to Byllynge directly (II. 170). It seems unfair to Calvert to link his name with that of the Duke of York as one who might have issued a body of concessions had he so desired (II. 60), since Calvert lived before such practices had become familiar, while the Duke of York opposed such concessions on principle. It seems equally unfair to charge Penn with imitating the Jersey and Carolina patentees in issuing his various schemes of government (II. 211), for he was himself a student of government and quite capable of acting independently. Professor Osgood has adopted the spelling "D'Aunay" for the more usual "D'Aulnay" (I. 410-414). The form is not wrong, as both spellings were used; and I have seen "Daunay" and "Daulnay" on the same page of a printed royal proclamation. But in one sense both are wrong, for the governor of Acadia always signed his own name "Aulnay". "Quarry" is wrong for "Quary" (II. 221); and the governor of Salem and afterward of Massachusetts Bay always wrote his own name "Endecott" not "Endicott". On a few occasions Professor Osgood, though commonly writing "Barbadoes", lapses into the incorrect form "the Barbadoes" (II. 212, 218). A few typographical errors may be pointed out. On I. 54, line 5 from the bottom, "and" should be inserted after the comma; on I. 180, line 3 from the bottom, "the absence of" should be inserted before "positive laws", if we are to accept the statement on the next page, line 2 from the bottom; on II. 64, line 23, "proprietier" should be "proprietor"; and on II. 208 the superior figure in line 4 should be omitted. In a style remarkably clear, forcible, and accurate the reader will regret the presence of so many cleft infinitives.

CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

*The Suffrage Franchise in the Thirteen English Colonies in America.*

By ALBERT EDWARD MCKINLEY, Sometime Honorary Fellow in American History in the University of Pennsylvania. [Publications of the University of Pennsylvania. Series in History, No. 2.] (Philadelphia: The University; Boston: Ginn and Company. 1905. Pp. v, 518.)

STUDENTS of the history and working of representative institutions—parliamentary and municipal—all over the Anglo-Saxon world will

long be under a great indebtedness to Mr. McKinley for the care and thoroughness with which he has worked out the history of the suffrage in the thirteen English colonies in America. Mr. McKinley's book must of necessity become the standard authority on this subject. It must take this place because it is difficult to see how the subject can ever be treated more systematically, more exhaustively, or with more scholarly care than by Mr. McKinley. Realizing the usefulness of his present volume, it is to be hoped that the author may be disposed to push his studies still further, and to write a companion volume in which the organization of the colonial legislatures shall be worked out with similar care.

The plan of Mr. McKinley's book is as commendable as his care in working out the plan. He begins with a sketch of the parliamentary suffrage as it existed in England in the period when the American colonies were being settled and developed. This was of course the nondescript suffrage on which the unreformed House of Commons was elected; and of this suffrage, with its varying qualifications between county and borough and between borough and borough, Mr. McKinley gives a full, accurate, and adequate presentation—certainly sufficiently full to enable a student of his history to appreciate and measure the departures which were made from the English model in the different American colonies. Then taking each of the thirteen colonies in turn—and making a self-contained history of each—he traces the franchises on which the first legislature in each colony was elected, and follows in much detail all the changes made in the suffrage of the colony until the Revolution. These changes are carefully followed in each colony, usually with a statement of the reasons which led to the change; and at the end of each of these exhaustive treatments of the several colonies there are summaries of the changes made in the colonial period. The general result is that for each colony Mr. McKinley furnishes a statement of the suffrage conditions—parliamentary and municipal, church and military—at the end of the colonial period. The concluding chapter is devoted to a study of the nature and extent of the English influence upon the franchises in the colonies, and to an estimate of the size of the voting populations in the several colonies previous to the Revolution.

English influence was, of course, always paramount; because the English representative system was the only one of which the colonists had any personal knowledge; and moreover in some of the colonies—notably in South Carolina—the absentee proprietary interests exerted their influence to keep the representative system as near as possible to the system then in vogue in England.

In reading the final chapter, which is an admirable illustration of the care and method with which Mr. McKinley has done his work, as also in following in detail the changes in the franchise in each of the colonies, one is impressed with the comparative fewness of the innovations which were made in the parliamentary franchise as it then existed in England. Most of the departures were due to the fact that

in the main the English franchise had come to be based on the needs of urban communities, while in most of the colonies rural voters were in the majority, and the English model had to be adapted to the needs of small and scattered communities. In many of the colonies Roman Catholics were excluded from the franchise by direct enactment. This was the case in Scotland until 1829; but it was never the case in England, where Roman Catholics were excluded from voting not by an act of Parliament specifically denying them the franchise, but through their inability to take the oath against transubstantiation.

England never had such enactments as those of Massachusetts and New Haven which made voting depend on church membership. Nonconformists in England were excluded from municipal corporations, because members of a municipal corporation and all municipal officers were compelled to take the sacrament according to the rites of the established church. In the boroughs in which the municipal corporations alone exercised the parliamentary franchise nonconformists had no votes at parliamentary elections; but in the household suffrage and burgh boroughs and in some freeman boroughs, and universally in the counties, duly qualified nonconformists were always able to exercise the franchise.

Contrary also to an impression which still prevails with some English authorities on English parliamentary history, nonconformists, Quakers only excepted, were never excluded from the House of Commons; and Quakers were excluded because they refused to take any of the oaths which in the eighteenth century were administered to all members of the House of Commons. Nor in England was a parliamentary vote made dependent, as in the New England colonies, on good behavior; for in some of the larger freemen boroughs it was long the custom of deputies of the returning officer to go to the jails and there take the votes of freemen; while in other boroughs—notably at Carlisle—it was usual for the electioneering managers of the dominant party in parliamentary and municipal politics to arrange with the sheriffs that freemen in jail should be paroled to vote.

Only one variation in the American colonies from the English model has since been adopted in England. Voting by ballot and even by proxy was early established in several of the colonies; but voting by ballot was not unknown in England in the eighteenth century. Registrars of land-transfers in Yorkshire and in several other counties were chosen by ballot, in accordance with acts of Parliament by which these offices were created; but the hostility to the ballot, which Mr. McKinley shows existed among the proprietors of South Carolina until the middle years of the eighteenth century, continued in England until 1872. Even as late as 1872 the hostility was so pronounced that it took the late W. E. Forster, then vice-president of the council in Mr. Gladstone's 1868-1874 cabinet, twenty-seven nights to carry his second bill through the House of Commons. His first bill, that of 1871, was thrown out by the House of Lords.



Only in Virginia was a college ever directly represented in any American legislature; and it would seem that Virginia was the only British colony—past or present—that ever followed the English precedent in this particular. Even in Virginia the English precedent was not followed in its entirety; for at Oxford and Cambridge all masters of arts were entitled to vote for members of the House of Commons, while the election at William and Mary College was confined to the faculty.

It is to be hoped that Mr. McKinley's volume will quickly find its way into British and colonial libraries of reference, and that the excellent work that he has put into it and its obvious and permanent usefulness will serve to stimulate similar undertakings for the Canadian, Australasian, and South African colonies of Great Britain. Nearly as much historical interest attaches to the development of the suffrage in these modern colonies as to its development in the thirteen American colonies. The need for histories of the suffrage in the existing British colonies with responsible government and representative institutions is as obvious as it was for the American colonies; and when this need has been adequately and satisfactorily met, historical students will have at command histories of the suffrage in Great Britain and in all the Anglo-Saxon countries in which the House of Commons at Westminster has been taken as a model in establishing parliamentary government—in carrying into practice the dictum of Edward I. that "that which touches all shall be discussed by all". In none of the existing British colonies does the history of the suffrage go so far back as in the American colonies. Except in Canada, in most of the British colonies of to-day the suffrage dates no farther back than the early years of the nineteenth century; yet in all these colonies—Canada included—the varying conditions under which the suffrage has been exercised and the developments it has undergone in consequence largely of conditions inherent in a newly-settled country are much the same as attended the establishment of the parliamentary franchise in the American colonies. There is an admirable index to Mr. McKinley's book. It covers thirty pages; and the only lack is a bibliography.

EDWARD PORRITT.

*Justice in Colonial Virginia.* By OLIVER PERRY CHITWOOD. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 7-8.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1905. Pp. 124.)

As an incorruptible administration of justice is the highest and most perfect guaranty of morality and enlightenment, it follows that in the evolution of the judiciary branch of government in any nation civilization manifests its finest and most interesting phases. Hence Dr. Chitwood in this monograph upon the origin, history, and growth of the Virginia colonial judiciary has presented us with a work which attracts attention because of the subject-matter. As the field of investigation is

a comparatively neglected one, his has been necessarily a labor demanding close and patient research; and well has he acquitted himself of the responsibility thus voluntarily assumed. He has collected a great many interesting facts, while his own reflections upon the varied manifestations of the judicial practice are interesting and sometimes profound. Especially to be praised is the clear and discriminating method of treatment which he has pursued.

After an introductory chapter containing an account of the military rule at Jamestown from 1607 to 1619, the author considers in regular order the several parts played in the administration of justice in Virginia by the Assembly, the Superior Courts, the Inferior Courts, and the court officials, under which last head there is much interesting information about the sheriffs, constables, and lawyers of the colony. Probably Dr. Chitwood might have made his paper stronger and more valuable by dwelling at greater length upon the relations of the judiciary to society in Virginia. We are told very truly (p. 94) that the county courts performed the part of schools of law, where the statesmen of Virginia received the training which qualified them so well for the organization in 1776 of an independent commonwealth; but we are not told how by their supervision over the vestries and direct control over orphans and poor children the rudiments of learning were extended to the mass of the people. In binding out orphans and poor children, with the requirement always inserted in the indentures for instruction in reading and writing, they made their influence for education something more than "incidental", as Dr. Chitwood has it (p. 94).

Again, we are told of the popular character of the courts in the beginning, and afterward of their aristocratic constitution in the eighteenth century; but we are not told satisfactorily why this change occurred, and there seems to be a suggestion in Dr. Chitwood's monograph that, as time went on, there was a deterioration in the judiciary, owing to the Assembly's losing its right to hear appeals. As a matter of fact, it was a very bad thing for the Assembly, meeting annually, to interfere with the decisions of the courts, as the independence of the judiciary is a cardinal principle in modern jurisprudence. The General Court of Virginia in the eighteenth century could not, in any real sense, be considered "aristocratic" as long as it had to obey the law of the legislature, and as long as its members were subject to removal by petition to the king. As a matter of fact, the courts of colonial Virginia were not so aristocratic as the present courts of the United States, whose judges hold office for life and are vested with the supreme power of declaring void any law conflicting with the Constitution.

Moreover, it does not appear to the present writer that Dr. Chitwood fully sets forth the tremendous contrast afforded by the judicial institutions of Virginia during the latter part of the colonial period with the crude beginnings in the seventeenth century. Dr. Fiske has a paragraph in his *Old Virginia and her Neighbors* (II. 266) which may be

profitably quoted: "During the eighteenth century the development in legal learning and acumen, and in weight of judicial authority, was remarkable. The profession was graced by such eminent names as Pendleton, Wythe, and Henry, until in John Marshall the Old Dominion gave to the world a name second to none among the great judges of English race and speech."

Nevertheless, Dr. Chitwood's work is a valuable contribution to the study of our antiquities and beginnings; and it is with unfeigned pleasure that we welcome this vigorous young scholar into the ranks of our historical investigators.

LYON GARDINER TYLER.

*Louisiana: a Record of Expansion.* By ALBERT PHELPS. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. ix, 412.)

THE task of writing a history of Louisiana, especially the Louisiana of colonial times, has been greatly facilitated during the last few years in several ways. The celebration at St. Louis of the centennial of the purchase aroused a keen interest in the history of the Mississippi valley, and naturally produced a number of works dealing with this subject in a more or less original fashion. Moreover the publications of the American Historical Association have thrown new light on obscure points in the Spanish period. Finally the Louisiana Historical Society has added to its Magne and Margry collections by procuring from France, in the last eighteen months, seven or more volumes of transcripts from the French archives, some of them containing new material of great importance. Skillful use of these new as well as of the older documentary material has been made by Mr. Phelps in his *Louisiana*.

The author's main object, as he states it in his preface, has been to show that "the Latin settlements in the Mississippi Valley . . . threatened the coherence of the feeble Federation of States, checked the drift of pioneers that instinctively bore the destiny of the nation ever westward, and, even as late as 1803, offered a dangerous and alluring scheme of conquest to Napoleon." Hence the author's principal theme was to show the relation of the Mississippi valley to the older states of the Union and to emphasize the vast importance of Jefferson's purchase. He has done more, however: he has briefly but skilfully traced the history of Louisiana as a state of the Union; its swift development up to the Civil War; the chief events of that struggle as far as they touched Louisiana; and—not without a number of dramatic details—the dark days of Reconstruction.

At this point the book indicates the limits of space placed upon the author by his publishers; for the period following Reconstruction—the period of the renaissance of the state and of its development along industrial and educational lines—is inadequately presented. The reader feels a natural disappointment that there should be so graphic a presentation of the disastrous Reconstruction era, and so brief an account of the new day that was soon to dawn. In no other work, however,

is the plea of the indignant and oppressed South more fervently urged. At times the author's Southern rearing and sympathies betray him into giving what seems to be a partizan view of the vexed questions of that time. Two instances will be noted later.

This fault is in a measure offset by the large view and the excellent analysis of the events that led up to the Civil War. It is in the colonial period, however, that Mr. Phelps is at his best. Here the subject lent itself naturally to his strongly poetical temperament, and we find many passages in which the objects and aims of the Spanish and French explorers are well set forth, with due consideration of the contemporaneous history of Europe; while there is a charm of style withal, a delightful literary touch, which makes this portion of the book fascinating reading. The author has happily avoided the flowing but rather inflated style of Gayarré and the dry-as-dust annalistic style of Martin. The reader will linger over Mr. Phelps's description (p. 34) of the Indian dances given in honor of Iberville, when "flashing and gorgeous with feathers, tassels, jingling bits of metal, and fresh paint, the lithe, almost naked bodies wove their savage beauty into a dazzling maze of barbaric color and motion"; and over the touching story he tells (pp. 205-207) of the transformation of Padre Antonio de Sedella, the dreaded agent of the Holy Office, into the gentle Père Antoine, the beloved priest of rich and poor alike. By such passages Mr. Phelps has lent to his narrative the same kind of interest which, in a higher degree, has made so popular the writings of Fiske and Parkman.

The book, as a whole, shows a careful study of the sources, and its accuracy is commendable. There are, however, some errors, due partly to a failure to examine recently discovered documents and partly to other causes. Baton Rouge received its name not from "a red corn-stalk" (p. 33), but from a reddened *Mai*, or May-pole, seen by Iberville. It is not accurate to say (p. 102) that after the treaty of Paris "in 1763", "the question of Louisiana yet remained to be settled". It had, of course, been settled November 3, 1762. The "town of New Orleans" (p. 142) is a slip for the "isle of Orleans". Don Andres Almonester (not "Almonaster"), the inscription on his tomb to the contrary notwithstanding, did not build the famous Cabildo as a "philanthropist" (p. 160). The Pontalba letters in the library of the Louisiana Historical Society show that his family claimed and received full compensation. There is a failure to state (p. 265) that the chief cause of Jackson's adoption of the Lafittes was, as Jackson afterward stated, that the smugglers had several thousand rounds of cartridges, which they finally gave up, and to the use of which Jackson attributed the saving of New Orleans. The English officers "drank with enthusiasm to the inspiring toast, 'Beauty and Booty'" (pp. 274-275). It should be noted that some fifteen years later a number of the British officers, indignant at this slur on their honor, published their sworn testimony to the effect that there was no such watchword at New Orleans. The author makes severe strictures on Congress for its action on two occasions (pp. 345-

346, 350). First, Congress was unfair in the drastic measures taken against the labor laws passed by the South in 1865; the testimony taken in regard to these laws was one-sided, etc. For instance, says Mr. Phelps, no law on the subject had been promulgated in Louisiana at all. It is only fair to reply that though no law against freedmen had been "promulgated" by the Louisiana legislature, several bills of great severity were pending in that body when Congress took up the matter, and were doubtless dropped because of the attitude of Congress. Again, Mr. Phelps, doubtless following Burgess, charges Congress with unconstitutional action in not submitting the Fourteenth Amendment to President Johnson for his signature (p. 350). The advocate of Congress could reply that the first ten amendments did not receive the signature of the President, and that the Supreme Court (3 Dallas, 381) had decided that the negative of the President applies to ordinary legislation and has nothing to do with the proposition or adoption of amendments to the Constitution.

Such faults are only natural in a young writer who treats for the first time so long a period as is embraced in the history of Louisiana. In spite of them the work is worthy of a high place in the series of which it forms a part.

JOHN R. FICKLEN.

*Rhode Island: a Study in Separatism.* By IRVING BERDINE RICHMAN. [American Commonwealths.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company. 1905. Pp. x, 395.)

THIS, the most enjoyable of the books on Rhode Island, is the work of "one possessed of no relationship, ancestral or contemporary, to New England". It will not displace the solid history by Arnold, but the changes of a half-century will give it a place of its own. It is significant that, while the history of Rhode Island has been politico-theological, or at least politico-legal, this latest work is an instructive picture of social life. The author fairly establishes his thesis of separatism as the formative principle of the community. He lays out his periods and classification as follows: Agriculture and Separatism, 1636-1689; Commerce and Co-operation, 1690-1763; Unification and Manufactures, 1764 to the present day. These fixed partitions are too rigid, and the periods are more or less arbitrary. Commerce, as developed in the East for two or three decades after the Revolution, was more important than at any other period. Nor did manufactures get under way until Slater started in 1790. The terms are elaborated considerably. "By Providence there was symbolized individualism both religious and political—a force centrifugal, disjunctive, and even disruptive. By Aquidneck . . . there was symbolized collectivism—a collectivism thoroughly individualized as to religion, but in politics conjunctive and centripetal" (p. 32). Collectivism may be interpreted in that way, but according to Woolsey it "denotes the condition of a community when its affairs, especially its industry, are managed in the collective way". There was

nothing of this latter sort in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. History is hardly elucidated by such forced terms.

The main exigesis is wholly correct. "The age of Roger Williams in Rhode Island was a great age. For the first time in human history State had wholly been dissociated from Church in a commonwealth not utopian but real. For the first time the fundamental idea of modern civilization—that of rights of man as a being responsible primarily to God and not to the community—had been given an impulse powerful and direct" (pp. 60-61). The right personalities are emphasized. Harris, Coddington, and Clarke brought the spiritists down to earth, giving organization and a backbone to the communities, or the state could not have lived.

The Dorr rebellion—an incipient revolution—is well handled. The important constitutional problems there developed are treated fairly. The strong fighting spirit of the Seeker-Quaker state, as in privateering, in the Revolution, and in the Civil War, is very suggestive.

An occasional error occurs, as in half-affirming (p. 6) a thoroughly exploded tradition of "Norse construction" of the Old Stone Mill. More important is the strange lapse "no . . . conscription" (p. 316)—a remarkable error in such thorough investigation. Rhode Island was first to draft; and her conscripts—not substituted—were duly mustered.

James Bryce brought our state under new obligation when he inspired the author to make these studies; and the East may well congratulate the western states thereon.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 6. *Provincial America, 1690-1740.* By EVARTS BOUTELL GREENE, Ph.D., Professor of History in Illinois State University. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xxi, 356.)

ONE advantage of the present movement toward the writing of general histories of our country is that gaps must be filled in. Mr. Greene's book deals with one of these, perhaps the least-known fifty years between 1600 and the present day, a period which has at the same time repelled by its difficulty and lacked in the picturesque attraction of the years just before and after. Mr. Greene has handled his problem with the grasp of a true historical artisan, and his book is a definite contribution to American history. The chief difficulty arises from the necessity of treating the history of still distinctly different colonies, which, nevertheless, "possessed important elements of unity". Mr. Greene has wisely decided that, within the limits of a single volume, "the most instructive method for the student of this period is to emphasize the general movements" (p. xix). It must, however, be confessed that there is a consequent loss of vitality. To such a book one must bring one's interest, and it is a question whether some concession might not have been made to the general reader by way of

the selection for fuller treatment of typical incidents. Whether Mr. Greene might not have adopted the middle course of a treatment by sections will also be considered a question by some, but his determination to give emphasis to political institutions made this the less practicable.

In the development of general tendencies Mr. Greene shows full grasp of the situation. He is particularly strong in dealing with the relations of the colonies and the mother-country, and devotes about one-third of the book to this topic. The effect of the "Glorious Revolution" is well treated, although the practical identity of the cases of the colonial and municipal charters, and the consequent obligation upon William to restore the latter, is perhaps not made quite plain. Attention is repeatedly called to the influence of the charter colonies on the provinces by furnishing illustrations of popular government, and of the reflex influence of the provinces on them in introducing English influences. Other forces making for union are enumerated, and this tendency stands clear-cut throughout. For the sake of completeness, it is unfortunate that the intercolonial settlements of the Scotch-Irish and the Presbyterian synod are not mentioned in this connection. The careful development of the English administration gives abundant illustration of another thesis of Mr. Greene, that the struggle between the imperial government, desirous of a uniform, effective system, and the several colonies, anxious to preserve their particularistic rights and customs, furnished the bulk of colonial politics, and was preparing for the Revolution by defining issues and training public men. Mr. Greene mentions, in fact places first in order, one more important general tendency, that of material expansion. This recognition makes more striking the fact that the subject is dismissed in a chapter of twenty-one pages, with occasional references elsewhere. This treatment, though brief, is strong in the subject of colonial legislation and mentions most matters of importance, but there is decided need of an illustrative map, and one feels that the push to the West does not permeate the book as it must have permeated the life of the period.

Though this series is intended rather as a presentation of the present state of historical knowledge with regard to the country, than to advance that knowledge, most of the writers have really made in their respective volumes original contributions to their fields, and Mr. Greene's stands second to none that have yet appeared in this respect. Already at home in the subject through his studies for *The Provincial Governor*, he has extended his investigation to the whole field of colonial politics and administration. The sources which he has chiefly used are the *Statutes of the Realm*, the *Calendars of State Papers*, *Colonial*, the colonial statutes and records, and such collections as the *Penn-Logan Correspondence* and the *Randolph Papers*. He has distinctly added to our acquaintance with the use of the veto power by the English government, the policy and enforcement of the navigation acts, and the mechanics of English control. He has successfully welded this together with the existing monographic material on kindred subjects, and



gives the clearest and most comprehensive account we have of the imperial system at this time with relation to America.

Twenty-seven pages are devoted to a discussion of industry and commerce. Here the land and labor systems, manufacturing, the fur-trade, the fisheries, the balance of trade, the coasting-trade, privateering, piracy, and the currency are discussed in admirable little summaries. The final chapter, on "Provincial Culture", taken in connection with an earlier chapter on "Puritans and Anglicans", is distinctly inadequate. In these forty-seven pages one might have expected something with regard to the suggestive spread of Arminianism, to the attempt of Jonathan Edwards to harmonize emotional religion and predestination, to the entering wedge between the Harvard and Yale schools of thought. The whole treatment of religious questions, however, is purely formal; we are told that there were differences of opinion and changes of spirit, that Fichte admired Edwards, that "solitary thinker of North America", but not a word of what the latter thought. The "Great Awakening", the first occasion when the people of the colonies responded to a single enthusiasm, is discussed in one page (p. 321), and Edwards, the only American who was great during these years, in another. Not even the vital question of ecclesiastical organization is discussed. One does not need to be a disciple of *Kulturgeschichte* to require some treatment of what was still the dominant intellectual and moral interest of the major portion of the colonies. Mr. Greene, indeed, in places evidently assumes, on the part of his readers, a knowledge of religious conditions, but, if so, his assumption will not, in many instances, be supported by facts. In a similar way Mr. Greene presupposes a knowledge of, but does not mention, the separation of North and South Carolina.

The apparatus of the book, maps, foot-notes, critical essay on authorities, and index, is admirably worked out. The evident repression of the foot-notes has prevented any extensive reference to monographs, but this is in large measure supplied by the list of authorities. The latter is well calculated to fit the needs of both the student and the general reader, though, from the standpoint of the latter, one misses Seeley's *Expansion of England* and Frothingham's *Rise of the Republic*, and the former would expect mention of W. D. Johnston's *Slavery in Rhode Island*, Reinsch's *English Common Law in the Early American Colonies*, some of the *Columbia Studies*, and a discussion of the voluminous local material for the period.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

*The American Nation: A History.* Edited by ALBERT BUSHNELL HART. Volume 7. *France in America, 1497-1763.* By REUBEN GOLD THWAITES, LL.D., Secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1905. Pp. xxi, 320.)

WE have the right to expect a high type of excellence in a history of the American nation "in twenty-seven volumes", written "from

original sources by associated scholars", edited by a well-known authority on American history, himself "advised by various historical societies", among which appears the venerated name of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The volume before us satisfies in some respects an exacting scrutiny. Its mechanical make-up is admirable. It is furnished with maps which not only please the eye but bring together a vast amount of historical information. That in colors of the "Progress of French Discovery in the Interior, 1600-1762", furnishes in one survey an outline of the pioneer history of large areas of what are now two countries, the United States and Canada, and illustrates the genius that the French *courcours de bois* had for opening up trade in the wilderness. Of this and other maps the editor truly says that they reveal "almost for the first time . . . the immense possibilities which the French had before them" (p. xvii).

In the matter of proportions too the author has shown originality and courage. He gives only one-third of his space to the first one hundred and fifty years of French effort, and devotes the remaining two-thirds to the twenty dramatic years of struggle between France and Britain for supremacy in North America. This plan involves indeed some loss. We hear nothing of Colbert's great schemes of empire in America; and Frontenac, the ablest of the French governors, is barely mentioned. Nor has the editor of the majestic series of volumes of *Jesuit Relations* given himself much space in which to discuss the French ecclesiastical policy. This is a noteworthy example of self-denial, for in that branch of France's work in America Mr. Thwaites's mastery is unrivaled.

The foot-notes show that for the book as a whole Mr. Thwaites has drawn information from a wide range of authorities. But the standard secondary authorities play the chief part, the most frequently recurring name being of course Francis Parkman. *The Royal Navy*, edited by the late Sir W. Laird Clowes; Mr. Fortescue's *History of the British Army*; Kingsford's *History of Canada*; Doughty and Parmelee's *Siege of Quebec*—these represent the type of works to which Mr. Thwaites is indebted for his principal information in more than half of the book. In truth the volume hardly fulfils the promise for the series that it shall be based upon original sources. This is obvious everywhere, but we furnish one or two illustrations. Mr. Thwaites notes the remarkable fact (p. 256) that, while men were dying of scurvy by hundreds in Quebec during the siege in the winter of 1759-1760, few women were even ill. For this he cites as authority Bradley's *Fight with France for North America*, but the real authority is Captain John Knox, who was in Quebec during that winter, and whose book Mr. Thwaites names in his bibliography. Again, Mr. Thwaites cites Parkman's *Montcalm and Wolfe* for the striking description (p. 258) of General Murray's garrison in Quebec in the spring of 1760 as "half-starved, scorbutic skeletons". But the real authority is Quartermaster-Sergeant Johnson, whose original narration is printed in the fifth vol-

unic of Doughty and Parmelee's *Siege of Quebec*, a book which, though frequently cited, has obviously not been studied in its entirety.

An effective history involves at least three characteristics: it must be written in an attractive literary style, it must be accurate, and it must show mastery of the chief sources of information. On all these points the verdict on at least parts of Mr. Thwaites's work must be adverse. Its quality varies. The chapters which relate to the Mississippi valley are written with more ease and accuracy than are those relating to eastern America, a fact that is due probably to the author's long residence in the west. When on less familiar ground his style becomes stilted; his sources of information are either inadequate or ill-understood; and he makes startling mistakes.

It is worth while to test the book on the three chief points named. First, then, in regard to style it must be pronounced very defective. In the two hundred pages devoted to a dramatic war there are unrivaled opportunities for vivid effects. Mr. Thwaites is conscious of his opportunities. He tells at length Washington's experiences on the Ohio; he does his best to make a striking narrative of the two sieges of Louisburg, and of Wolfe's siege of Quebec. But the effect is rather dismal. The narrative lacks life. Too many ideas are crowded into single sentences. Words are used with strange and even inaccurate meanings. Grammar is sometimes disregarded; for instance, the relations of prepositions to their antecedents are often hopelessly involved: "Virginia was poorly supplied with wagons and horses, for rivers and bays were her principal routes of commerce, so that these had to be obtained in Pennsylvania, where Franklin's prestige alone succeeded in wheedling them out of the reluctant people" (p. 174). We may well ask what, according to Mr. Thwaites, it was that the ingenious Franklin was to extort from Pennsylvania. When Mr. Thwaites means to say that Wolfe had an indomitable spirit, he says "indubitable" (p. 242); and we begin to wonder what a man with an indubitable spirit is like. The Canadians are "bookishly ignorant" (p. 24), which we take to mean ignorant of books. Spain is "strong enough to carry a high hand" (p. 268), a feat which even an infant can perform. Things do not happen with Mr. Thwaites; they "transpire" (p. 106), which used in this sense is mere journalese.

Nor in the substance of much that he says is Mr. Thwaites more happy. If already in 1588 "England was recognized as mistress of the seas" (p. 6), why all this talk about Trafalgar? Roberval's name was not "la Roche" (p. 8) but la Roque. It is amusing to read of the repair of the "crude fortifications" of Quebec in 1541 (p. 9), more than sixty years before that place was founded; and for a similar reason one wonders what a French historian would think of "the Versailles court" as directing French policy about 1605 (p. 15). Mr. Thwaites knows that France did not lose Cape Breton until 1763, though on p. 125 he says the opposite; while on p. 275 he implies that France held Nova Scotia until that date. "Townsend" (p. 243) is not the correct spell-

ing of the name of the noble family of Townshend to which Wolfe's brigadier belonged. "Point Lévis" (p. 248) is the kind of trap the unwary would fall into; the name of the point is Lévi and the adjacent town of Lévis was not so named until after the British conquest of Canada. It is now certain that the Chevalier de Lévis had not 11,000 men (p. 257), or, according to his own account, half that number, in his attack on Quebec in April, 1760. Mr. Thwaites's narrative of the incidents at that period literally teems with inaccuracies. The British retreat after the battle of Sainte Foye was not "orderly" (p. 258) but quite the reverse, for they were pursued pell-mell up almost to the very gates of Quebec. Nor, two weeks later, did Lévis abandon the siege of Quebec because he was attacked (p. 258). He fled in the night in a panic and had got well away before the British knew that he was going.

The most serious fault remains. In modern historical writing the bibliographical apparatus counts for much. Both as a guaranty that the sources of information are adequate, and as a guide to other students, we have the right to expect that here a historical writer will do his best. In the preface Mr. Thwaites suggests that Parkman is a little defective in respect to bibliography, and at the close of the book he places a "Critical Essay on Authorities" which we are to take as superseding Parkman and embodying the best and most recent information. In this essay we have Kingsford's *History of Canada*, in ten volumes, described as "concise" (p. 297). Garneau, the best-known of Canadian historians, is called "Garnier" (p. 297), an offense as great as to call Macaulay Macdonald. "The Haldimand Collection was published in 1884-1885, Bouquet Collection in 1889, Murray Correspondence in 1890", says Mr. Thwaites (p. 298). In fact they fill several hundreds of volumes, and only calendars have been printed. The number of Parkman's volumes relating to New France is given incorrectly (p. 297) as is also that of the *Lévis Documents* (p. 301). A volume by M. René de Kerallain on his ancestor, Bougainville, is cited as if by Bougainville himself (p. 303). Here Mr. Thwaites has fallen before the delusive appearance of the French title-page; the book itself he can hardly have examined. Minor errors in authors' initials and in titles are numerous.

But enough of faultfinding. Summing up, one is obliged to say that, while the book shows industry and knowledge, its faults in regard both to style and to accuracy are so numerous as to make it hardly worthy of the high reputation of its author. The wonder is that these things should have escaped the scrutiny of the alert editor of the series.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

*Wolfe and Montcalm.* By the Abbé HENRI RAYMOND CASGRAIN. [The Makers of Canada, in twenty volumes, edited by Duncan Campbell Scott, F.R.S.C., and Pelham Edgar, Ph.D.] (Toronto: Morang and Company. 1905. Pp. xxviii, 296.)

THE death of the Abbé Henri Raymond Casgrain in February, 1904, deprived Canadian literature of a most picturesque and charming per-

sonality; French Canadians of their most devoted and determined champion in the sphere of historical writing; and many individuals of a highly valued friend, whose warm living touch can never be forgotten. The loss of such a man would have been rightly called lamented at any time; happening just when it did, we can only say it was quite as truly lamentable. A little sooner, and his friends would have accepted his last book as coming from what they supposed to be the fullness of knowledge developed by the controversy between Parkman and himself. A little later, and he would have had at his command the result of recent and practically final research in Waddington's *Guerre de Sept Ans*, Doughty's *Siege of Quebec*, and Wood's *Fight for Canada*; and, with this conclusive proof before him, he must have seen the whole vexed question from a point of view far above that of the mere partizan who has to keep worrying the half-knowledge of one side into doing reluctant duty for both. And who knows but that he might have risen to a masterpiece? He had the love of historical research strong within him; an intimate knowledge of the place and people; and the saving grace of a good prose style. And here, at last, he would have had the chance of turning his many advantages to the best account from the completed data. But this was not to be. He had the singular misfortune to have completed his work by the last glimmer of twilight, and to have it posthumously exhibited in the full glare of complete research. A more untoward book was never published.

It may seem ungenerous to criticize adversely the last work of one who is now no more; and we would gladly resign our task. But the editors have assigned to the book a place in a series of volumes which professedly claim to convey the most accurate knowledge of the subjects with which they deal. It therefore becomes our duty to point out how signally the author has failed to give either an adequate or a faithful account of one of the most interesting periods of Canadian history.

The book is unfortunate in being confined almost entirely to the local aspects of the struggle for supremacy. It makes no attempt whatever to correlate the interdependent parts of the world-wide war, with all of which the fate of Canada was intimately bound up. It only relates to sea-power in the most inaccurate and misleading way. It has descriptions of British blue-jackets drilling on shore, and of their being armed to the teeth and ready to swarm over any unprotected part of Montcalm's land defenses in irresistible sheer weight of numbers. But it forgets to say that not one seaman fired a shot or drew his cutlass ashore; and it equally neglects to mention the real determining influences of sea-power which brought about the fall of New France. Anson, who planned the naval action from headquarters, is not named; Wolfe is stated to be in command of Saunders's fleet; and there is complete silence about Hawke's victory in Quiberon Bay which cut the French Atlantic line of communications for good and all and so sealed the fate of Canada.

But even on land, the Abbé hardly ever attempts to appreciate the

situation except from a purely French Canadian point of view. He does not bring the reader up the St. Lawrence with Saunders and Wolfe; he only lets him see the British forces through the estranging "fog of war" which enveloped the foreign invaders during the siege of Quebec.

The long chapter of eighty pages on Wolfe is introduced by the apocryphal account of his behavior at dinner with Pitt and Temple; an account which, even if true, would cast a wholly disproportionate slur on Wolfe's general character. His final victory is ascribed to mere good luck, in spite of the fact that the consummate plan involved the harmonious interworking of many complicated operations by land and water, extending over three days in time; carried out along a front of twenty-nine miles with the utmost secrecy by officers who only knew the parts of it which immediately concerned themselves; and brought to a triumphant conclusion in the dead of night.

But Montcalm fares no better than Wolfe. His victory at Ticonderoga is attributed to Lévis and the French Canadians; though he chose the ground himself and commanded throughout the action in person, and though only one-eighth of his men were Canadians. He gets no credit for having ordered the regiment of Guienne to guard the Foulon on the night before the battle; nor is it mentioned that Vaudreuil withdrew this battalion himself<sup>1</sup> and was solely responsible for leaving that critical point under the care of the scoundrelly Vergor. Bougainville is blamed as much as Montcalm for the loss of the battle; and de Ramesay comes in for the same condemnation for surrendering Quebec.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, Lévis is the faultless hero in all things: nothing is said about his mistaken raid along the Mohawk just before Ticonderoga; nor about his urging Montcalm to cross the Montmorency and attack Wolfe in a strongly intrenched position; nor about his great preponderance in numbers at Ste. Foy; nor about his equivocation at Montreal.

Indeed the Abbé appears as the advocate of the French Canadians *contra mundum*. Had he been able to do so with the whole of the evidence before him, he would undoubtedly have left a valuable work of its peculiar kind; because there is a distinctly useful rôle for the advocate in history as in everything else. But the French Canadians lose more than they gain by a championship which is based on injustice to the soldiers of Old France and misrepresentation of their foes. The French Canadians played a heroic part throughout the campaign and especially during the trying days of the siege of Quebec, and their conduct was in marked contrast with the weak, vain-glorious, incompetent

<sup>1</sup> "12. [Septembre, 1759] Mercredi. Ordre donné par M. de Montcalm et ensuite révoqué par M. de Vaudreuil disant nous verrons cela demain, au bataillon de Guyenne d'aller camper au foulon." *Journal of Jean-Félix Récher*, curé of Quebec, printed in *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, May, 1903, Vol. IX., no. 5, p. 139. See also "Correspondance de Bougainville" in Doughty, *Siege of Quebec*, IV.

<sup>2</sup> See last letter of Montcalm in Wood, *The Fight for Canada*.

governor, whom the Abbé seeks to exalt in the pages of this book. But the recent completion of research has deprived the author's work of its value even from this point of view. The editors have done their best, by writing an elaborate introduction and some very pertinent notes, to bring the book into line with those founded upon a more complete examination of original documents. But the attempt is vain. The final facts now known have put the Abbé's point of view entirely out of focus, even in its own field; while they have brought upon the stage a whole world of action which he never saw at all.

We can only repeat that a more untoward book was never published; and while asking our readers to forget that it was ever written, we would ask them to remember that the Abbé Casgrain wrote it under conditions which absolutely forbade success; that he did far better work in other directions; that his best should be a source of pride and profit to every Canadian, French and English alike, and the man was even better than the best of all his books.

*Francis Hopkinson, the First American Poet-Composer, 1737-1791, and James Lyon, Patriot, Preacher, Psalmist, 1735-1794. Two Studies in Early American Music.* By O. G. SONNECK. (Washington: Printed for the Author by H. L. McQueen. 1905. Pp. ix, 213.)

It has hitherto been supposed that William Billings was the first American composer of music. In the present volume Mr. Sonneck, chief of the Division of Music of the Library of Congress, throws a flood of light upon the labors of two earlier native musicians, Francis Hopkinson, the poet and friend of Washington, and James Lyon, the patriot, preacher, and psalmist. The amount of musical detail that Mr. Sonneck has unearthed has astonished not only Americans but has found recognition in Germany. It is true that Billings was the first professional composer that our country possessed, but it is here abundantly proved that there were two amateurs in the field before him.

Billings published his first volume of compositions in 1770, while this volume shows that both Hopkinson and Lyon composed some works in 1759, when Billings was but thirteen years old. There is still a little uncertainty as to the exact date of Lyon's earliest composition and as to whether it preceded or succeeded the first musical work of Hopkinson. It is probable that the first American composition was a song, of no very great merit, entitled "My days have been so wondrous free", by Hopkinson, which our author conjectures to have been written in 1759. In 1788 Hopkinson published a set of songs which he dedicated to George Washington. In a letter (given on p. 113) dated November 20, 1788, Hopkinson writes to Washington, saying: "However small the Reputation may be that I shall derive from this Work, I cannot I believe, be refused the Credit of being the first Native of the United States who has produced a Musical Composition." To this



letter Washington wrote a quaintly humorous yet appreciative reply, which is also given in the volume (p. 114).

Francis Hopkinson was born in 1737 and died in 1791. He seems to have been active in many fields of music, giving concerts, writing criticisms of music, producing a commentary upon church-organ playing, creating poems for musical setting, and inventing new devices for tuning and quilling a harpsichord. He is one of the most interesting figures in early American music, and we owe his rehabilitation to Mr. Sonneck.

Reverend James Lyon (1735-1794) is not so interesting or so vivid a personality, yet he was a good patriot and a most earnest and sincere worker for both his country and its music. His first venture in music was the setting of an "Ode on Peace" for the commencement exercises at Princeton in 1759. Very soon after this (in 1761 or 1762) there appeared his collection of psalm-tunes, and as this contained "some Entirely New" (pp. 135-136) we may conjecture that our composer was fairly well launched by this time. Mr. Sonneck thoroughly disproves some of the sneering remarks which Frédéric L. Ritter directed against the volume, which bore the title *Urania*, and is perhaps justly severe against that writer's supercilious stand against much of the American music (*Music in America*, New York, 1890); but he might have acknowledged the thoroughness of Ritter's account of opera and orchestral music in New York, particularly as he takes pains to praise men much less worthy of praise.

There is some irrelevant matter introduced into the pages of Mr. Sonneck's volume, such as a *calendarium* (pp. 10-25) of musical events at Philadelphia from 1716 to 1759, and disquisitions upon Mr. Hopkinson's poetry, but these only add to the readable character of the work, which is a very important contribution to the history of American music and will undoubtedly have much influence on future works on this topic.

LOUIS C. ELSON.

*Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1773-1776, including the Records of the Committee of Correspondence.* Edited by JOHN PENDLETON KENNEDY. (Richmond: 1905. [For sale by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.] Pp. xxiii, 301.)

IF a competent commission, such as that which the Queen of the Netherlands has established for her country, were to take up in systematic fashion the inquiry what are the chief gaps in our historical record, to be filled up by documentary publication, there can be no doubt that one of the leading desiderata which their survey would bring to notice is a good issue of the legislative journals of the eighteenth century. Without a full and exact knowledge of what they were doing, no satisfactory political or constitutional history of that period is possible. Yet in how few of the thirteen possible cases have we the records of the lower house in modern and purchasable volumes! Those of New York may be obtained, though with some difficulty. Lower-

house journals or general-assembly journals of North Carolina, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire may be found imbedded in large series, and usually presented in an incomplete form; small fragments are obtainable in two other cases.

Of all these popular assemblies the House of Burgesses of Virginia was the most important, and its record the longest and the most instructive. Mr. Kennedy, the new librarian of the Virginia State Library, has undertaken to supply the need of a modern and adequate edition of its journals. His task will not be an easy one. None of the original manuscript journals exists in Virginia, we believe, except one session in 1693 and the three presented in the present volume. From 1680, when the Burgesses began to sit separately, to 1732, when printing began, the journals are to be obtained from the copies in the Public Record Office at London. The printed journals, 1732-1774, exist in unique or very rare volumes, are much scattered, and in some cases imperfect. To complete the series from 1680 will, we should judge, take fifteen volumes of the size of that before us.

Mr. Kennedy presents his first volume in sumptuous form. Nothing could well be handsomer in the way of typography; and there is a good index. The text is taken from the manuscript journals. It should have been mentioned that Force, *Archives*, fourth series, II. 1185-1242, gives a journal for the session of 1775; but it is of hardly more than half-length, embracing only matters relating directly to the Revolution, though longer than the rare epitome, *The Proceedings of the House of Burgesses*, etc. (Williamsburg, 1775), mentioned by Mr. Kennedy. With his texts of the journals of the Burgesses he prints the minutes of the Committee of Correspondence, and such parts of their correspondence as are to be found transcribed into one of the journal volumes. This material, it should have been mentioned, has already seen the light in Vol. VIII. of the *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*.

The journal of each session is preceded, as is proper, by a list of the Burgesses; but, as this is no part of the journal, the source whence the lists are derived should be indicated. Some of the names given without question are subject to doubt. In the interest of the future volumes, we mention that the meaning of the foot-note "Missing", frequently used in pp. 47-64, is not in all cases clear; and that in the arrangement of the introduction most of pp. xiii and xiv seems to belong at a later point. A suggestion of greater importance is that in the subsequent volumes, relating to earlier times, the grouping by years should be abandoned in favor of grouping by assemblies and sessions. In the present volume the whole correspondence accompanying or resulting from each session might better be printed immediately after the journal of the session; and in earlier years, if any material outside the journals is to be included, it should follow the session, regardless of year.

Mr. Kennedy has set out upon an exceedingly valuable and important undertaking. He is carrying it forward with great care and skill;

and he bids fair to make of it a monumental series, of which Virginia may well be proud, and which other states may well imitate.

*The Declaration of Independence: an Interpretation and Analysis.*

By HERBERT FRIEDENWALD, Ph.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1904. Pp. xii, 299.)

DR. FRIEDENWALD's text comprises two main portions, of five chapters each, an interpolated chapter on the adoption and signing of the Declaration, and an appendix which confronts the final version with Jefferson's draft.

The sixth chapter need not delay us long. Judge Mellen Chamberlain solved the puzzle of the signing some years ago, and our author's "independent researches" (p. 133 note) in this field have added so little that he might well have relegated the whole matter to a second appendix. By that device he would have brought into closer connection the portion of his book which attempts an interpretation of the events immediately preceding the Declaration and the portion which attempts an analysis of the document itself. These constitute the substance of the volume and chiefly demand our attention.

Dr. Friedenwald begins his analysis by summarizing, in the seventh chapter, the complaints of the critics: the Declaration is trite; it is compounded of glittering generalities; its political philosophy, always impossible, is now obsolete; its attack on George III. goes beyond warrant of fact. The first two complaints Dr. Friedenwald answers quite in the spirit of Tyler's *Literary History of the American Revolution*, from which he quotes at length. As to the obsolescence of the theory of natural rights, he makes a distinction between the needs of a propaganda and those of a philosophy, justly concluding that however generally teachers of political science may accept, in some form or other, an evolutionary theory of the origin of government and society, that can never be made the basis for such revolutionary movements as have been the outcome of the theory of natural rights. "Future generations will have recourse, in their uprisings, to the old guide, or else will seek a new, as yet not in evidence" (p. 207). This, if familiar, is at least sound, and the chapter on "The Philosophy of the Declaration" is liberally sprinkled with equally sensible remarks. But they seem, after all, rather the components of a mosaic than the portions of a texture. The author, no longer swearing in the words of any one master, appears here to have been distracted by the multiplicity of his guides: a bit of J. F. Stephen (whom Dr. Friedenwald calls "Stephens") jostles a bit of McLaughlin, and on the next page both give way to a bit of Merriam. The impression, taking all together, is of confusion rather than of mastery. The two concluding chapters, which deal with the "facts submitted to a candid world", are a convenient review of the events which Jefferson probably had in mind while penning his famous indictment of the king. They make it abundantly clear that that indictment cannot

be sustained, in its entirety, at the bar of history. But they make even more clear the abundant foundation of fact which underlay the Declaration regarded as a campaign document. This, if no novelty, is still a merit.

Dr. Friedenwald's most serious claim to attention, however, must be based upon the five interpretative chapters which open his book. In them he has attempted to trace "the close interrelation between the development of the authority and jurisdiction of the Continental Congress and the evolution of the sentiment for independence. The gradual, though occasionally rapid manner in which the Congress acquired power, and the ways in which this was exercised, went side by side with the growth of the idea that independence was a necessary outcome of the controversy between England and America, that had been raging for nearly fifteen years. As the authority and jurisdiction of the Congress were extended, it adopted various means to further the desire for independence. Also, as this desire became more widely spread, the Congress, the embodiment of the union sentiment, acting for all and in behalf of all, gained additional strength. The highest point of its power was reached on July 4, 1776" (p. vii).

Even if there were space to examine in detail the instances and arguments by which Dr. Friedenwald supports this thesis, it would perhaps be unfair to attempt that task now, since he tells us (p. ix) that "the earlier chapters are in some respects a preliminary study, in part an abstract of a larger, more detailed work on this subject." But a reviewer who has been inclined to view the policy of the Continental Congress until long after the seventh of June, 1776, as governed, on the whole, rather by political opportunism than by peculiar prescience, may well hope that Dr. Friedenwald's more detailed work will either withdraw or more thoroughly establish his theory of a deliberate and far-sighted purpose on the part of Congress to exercise controlling authority in the individual colonies. It is to be hoped, too, that the more detailed work will always give specific citations (those on pages 45, 55, 102, 104, 116, 128, 171, and 185 of the present book are defective), and show more care in the correction of the press. Last, but by no means least, Dr. Friedenwald would do well to simplify his style, which is curiously involved. The beginning of the second paragraph on page 13, for example, is enough to make the strongest head reel.

*Essais d'Histoire Diplomatique Américaine.* Par ACHILLE VIAL-  
LATE, Professeur à l'École des Sciences Politiques. (Paris: E.  
Guilmoto. 1905. Pp. iii, 307.)

HERE are three related essays in the field of American diplomatic history, the first, on the territorial development of the United States, being in a sense introductory to the other two, the interoceanic canal question and the intervention of 1898 in Cuba.

In the first of these Professor Viallate traces briefly but clearly the

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territorial growth of this country. It is an essay purely historical. In the controversies described the contentions of the parties are given, but with no attempt at judging the equities of the question. So far as noticed, the author is very free from bias and from blunder, though Professor Bourne will be amused at the outcropping of the Whitman legend once more (p. 28). To bring so much of history within the compass of fifty-six pages the treatment must necessarily be brief, and naturally some statements are not full enough to be quite accurate. Thus Texas under Mexican rule is alluded to as a member of the Mexican federal government (p. 30), without saying that inability to secure statehood in that federation was one of the causes of the Texans' discontent. Again, the eastern boundary of Alaska is stated (p. 40) to be the mountains parallel to the coast; whereas the treaty adds that whenever the said mountains prove to be more than ten leagues from the coast, the boundary shall leave them and follow the windings of the coast at ten leagues' distance, a deviation which has caused an international controversy. Nevertheless it would be hard to find elsewhere, in so clear and compact a form, so good a statement of the processes through which, step by step, the domain of the United States has attained its present limits.

Once or twice the author forsakes history for politics. Thus he places both Panama and Cuba under the protectorate of the United States—which is technically doubtful—and thinks that this will be the process to bind other territories. For, he says, there is one region where the territorial expansion of the United States must lead to a series of interventions, the region bathed by the sea of the Antilles. In order to assure to its fleets free passage through an interoceanic canal, that country must avoid any occasion which would permit European powers to acquire new naval bases in that region. Germany is the power under suspicion in this respect. And M. Vialatte goes on to argue that the evil behavior of certain Latin republics and their disregard of the rights of their foreign creditors invite European intervention, which would temporarily seize a strategic point, an act which American sentiment would ill endure. But what is the alternative? "If the United States will not permit European creditors of these states to use the only means which will make their rights respected, it must itself exercise control over these undisciplined republics." To this conclusion, he says, President Roosevelt has come and the Senate must come.

The space given to "*Le Canal Interocéanique*" is three times that allotted to the first essay, and the treatment is correspondingly detailed. The various railway and canal concessions; the enabling treaties ratified or merely negotiated; the Mosquito Protectorate incident and the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to which it led, all are mentioned in proper sequence. Two facts are well brought out: (1) that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was intended primarily to tie the hands of Great Britain; (2) that until long after the War of Secession the canal policy of the

American government was to secure the neutralization of a canal by all the great powers. "À partir de 1870, l'opinion publique aux États-Unis se montra de plus en plus hostile à l'idée d'une garantie internationale. Il fallut trente années et les résultats de la guerre contre l'Espagne, pour que la diplomatie de l'Union réussît à imposer à l'Angleterre une solution purement américaine de la question du canal" (p. 120).

The two Hay-Pauncefote treaties testified to this change of sentiment and policy, and in the second the restraints of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty were at last gotten rid of. Then just as the way seemed clear for a canal under United States sovereignty came the check of a refusal by Colombia to ratify the Hay-Herran agreement. But the revolt of Panama, its recognition as a sovereign state, and its grant of territory and sovereign rights for the construction of a canal at last enabled the Americans to realize their desires.

It is a highly interesting, even dramatic, story as the author tells it. On debatable points he gives fairly the opposing arguments. He shows with great clearness the interdependence of the various events and the actuating motives of British, Americans, Colombians, and the European powers alike.

The third essay, on the intervention of the United States in Cuba, "La Guerre Hispano-Américaine", is not perhaps quite so satisfactory in its treatment of events as the foregoing. It is temperate and fair, does justice to the correct attitude and motives of our government and to the difficulties of its position. On the other hand, it fails to emphasize the fact that continued bad administration was the fundamental cause of Cuban discontent and revolt; nor does the author bring out with sufficient clearness the burden which the policing of its shores and the prevention of filibustering laid upon the United States. He ascribes to the sensational press great, perhaps undue, influence in arousing public sentiment in America. However, the story of the various diplomatic moves in that fateful spring of 1898 is fully and fairly and dramatically told.

The author's authorities for the canal question are Keasbey, Henderson, and Latané, with Wharton's *Digest* and the diplomatic correspondence and presidential messages. Without uncovering new facts or having access to new sources of information, the author gives an exceedingly interesting narrative of the topics discussed, and has put events in such logical sequence as to shed new light upon them in some cases. Then too the foreign point of view is valuable. The book has neither index nor table of contents.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

*Lynch-Law: an Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States.* By JAMES ELBERT CUTLER, Ph.D. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1905. Pp. xiv, 287.)

THE system commonly called lynching is historically worthy of study because it is a retrogression to methods tried out and discredited by the

experience of ages, and a denial of the principles for which our race has been contending ever since the Norman conquest of England. Up to this investigation, with the exception of Mr. Albert Matthews, who has most generously placed his materials at the service of Dr. Cutler, no one has been able to say positively where and when the thing arose. It is plainly not the same as combinations of weak units against the strong and the lawless, such as the *Vehmgericht* in Germany and the Spanish *Hermidad*; such bodies substituted one form of judicial investigation for another; while our American mobs habitually ignore the judge and supplant the jury.

With great skill and an excellent historical method Dr. Cutler has run to earth the origin of the name "lynching", though the thing itself goes back of its christening. He eliminates, after due discussion, a variety of unsatisfactory explanations and comes down to what he is the first to establish as an unquestionable historical fact—that Colonel Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Virginia, was during the Revolution at the head of an uncourteous court which tried Tories and sentenced many of them to a whipping. Thereafter these rude punishments were held to be examples of "Lynch Law". The next step in Dr. Cutler's chain of reasoning is that lynching originally meant a whipping and that it is in comparatively recent times that to lynch a man has come to mean to take his life. Of course, men have often been hanged and occasionally been burned at the stake by mobs ever since the founding of the colonies; nevertheless, till about 1830 "lynching" was a painful but not a fatal punishment.

Having thus worked out the historical origin of this interesting institution, Dr. Cutler next investigates its spread into the West and Southwest during the seventy-five years from the Revolution to the Civil War, including the remarkable manifestations in the "vigilance committees" of California. He disposes of the opinion, sometimes held, that lynching is a peculiarly southern institution: in colonial days and at intervals down to the present time barbarous lynchings have occurred at least occasionally in all sections of the Union. On the other hand Dr. Cutler's laborious examination of 3,337 cases between the years 1882 and 1903 shows that 2,585 of them were in the former slave-owning states, the population of which is twenty-six and a half millions against fifty millions in the rest of the Union; that is, a little over one-third the population has the benefit of nearly four-fifths of the lynchings; while the populous states east of Ohio and north of Maryland can boast of only twelve of these instances.

These figures, based upon the annual summaries of the *Chicago Tribune* (which of course must always fall a little under the actual number), form the basis of an analysis which Dr. Cutler has cast into highly suggestive tables and diagrams. For instance, he shows that in his period of twenty-two years the lynchings have always exceeded the number of legal executions, with the exception of four years; and sometimes have been more than twice as numerous. The efforts to discover



a relation between the lynchings and the months in which they occur, and the proportion of foreigners and illiterates, lead to no very definite result. The lynchings in Texas, for instance, are as numerous in proportion to population as the lynchings in South Carolina, though the illiterates are only two-fifths as many.

An examination into the causes for lynching is much more suggestive and throws a new light upon the relation of lynching to race hostility. Of the 2,585 persons lynched in the South 1,985 were negroes; and we are all perfectly familiar with the statement, repeated by Southern writers and doubtless believed, that practically all these lynchings are for rape, for which it is supposed no legal penalty is sufficiently terrible and sufficiently drastic. As a matter of fact, out of the 1,985 negroes lynched, 783 were charged with murder, 707 or an average of thirty-two a year with rape (to which should be added 109 white men, or five a year, lynched for the same offense); while there are unquestioned cases of lynching of negroes for such crimes as slander, poisoning horses, throwing stones, being troublesome, and slapping a child. All arguments based upon the theory that the practice of lynching negroes is primarily due to rape absolutely disappear in the face of this statistical demonstration that two-thirds of the lynchings of negroes are for quite other and disconnected causes.

Another interesting line of inquiry is as to whether lynching of negroes and the supposed invariable cause did or did not spring up, as most Southern people believe, after the Civil War and as a consequence of granting the suffrage to the negroes. Out of scanty and scattered materials Dr. Cutler has been able to show that hangings, shootings, and occasional burnings were tolerably well-known between 1830 and 1860; although the likelihood that a man charged with a crime would have a fair trial was decidedly greater than it is now.

Upon the sociological question of remedies Dr. Cutler is able to throw less light, though he does bring out clearly that the anti-lynching statutes have had little or no effect. He sums up his conclusions on that subject by saying (p. 265) that he "has been able to obtain no information which would warrant the statement that as many as twenty-five persons have been convicted of a crime and punished for participating in the lynching of over three thousand persons in the last twenty-two years." The real difficulty is that the rough and ready frontier spirit, for which there was some justification in an unorganized community infused with desperadoes, has remained or rather has rearsen in thickly populated states and cities which in most respects observe the law.

To note small defects or to suggest other problems that might have been included would be possible; but the main impression made by the book is one of skill and sagacity in choice of topics, in the relation of the parts of the book, in thoroughgoing examination of the material, in original methods of dealing with and exhibiting first-hand material, in sane and moderate conclusions. The book is not only henceforth the

authority on the subject, it is also a good example of a rational and scientific historical method.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

#### MINOR NOTICES

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association* for 1904 occupies but one volume, of 708 pages. That which most strikes the reviewer is that it contains, out of eighteen sections, but three which belong to the class, usually so abundant in these annual reports, of monographs based on new researches and adding to the sum of historical knowledge in matters of fact. Two of these are excellent. Mr. W. R. Manning's paper on "The Nootka Sound Controversy", which won the Justin Winsor Prize, is a thorough, solid, careful piece of work, based on researches in European archives, and setting right for the first time the history of an important episode. It is well written, and shows a clear head, not only for the transactions immediately in hand, but also for the larger matters of European diplomacy and international relations which were involved. Mr. I. J. Cox's briefer account of the Hunter-Dunbar and Freeman explorations of the Washita and Red rivers in 1804-1806 is also competent and clear. The campaign of 1824 in New York, the history of which is essayed by Mr. C. H. Rammelkamp, is plainly a subject of a different sort. The never-ending political struggles in New York, which give the grave pages of Hammond so quaint a resemblance to those of Cardinal de Retz, are like eternal rounds of whist. Doubtless it will not do to dismiss them scornfully, after Milton's manner with the wars of the Heptarchy, as "battles of the kites and crows". Doubtless a writer of genius could lift one of them to a higher level than that of the obvious surface phenomena, or discern a conflict of ideas somewhere behind the ignoble squabble. Doubtless he could give it unity and make its story instructive. But Mr. Rammelkamp has not done so.

The volume also contains the reports of the Chicago meeting and of the discussions held in its subsections, the presidential address of Professor Goldwin Smith, and three suggestive and sometimes profound papers by the three eminent foreign historians who were present on that occasion: that of Professor Pais "On Roman History", that of Professor Keutgen "On the Necessity in America of the Study of the Early History of Modern European Nations", and that of Professor Milyoukov on "The Chief Currents of Russian Historical Thought". But much the greater part of the volume is occupied with businesslike reports or papers on topics related to the methods or materials of historical work. There is no report from the Historical Manuscripts Commission. The Public Archives Commission presents reports on the state archives of Alabama and Kansas, and on local archives in Georgia and North Carolina, together with a list of the contents of the printed *Pennsylvania Archives*; while Mr. Worthington C. Ford describes in an

interesting manner the archives of our dependencies. Much attention is given in the volume to the work of the state and local historical societies, and Professor H. E. Bourne presents a general summary of their characteristics and endeavors. It is to be hoped that the Association is on the high road toward closer relations with the work of these organizations. The volume closes with a useful report by Professor W. H. Siebert on the special collections in European history which are contained in various American libraries.

*Proceedings of the British Academy, 1903-1904.* (London, Henry Frowde, pp. xx, 339.) The formation of the International Association of Academies in 1899 and 1900 having drawn attention to the lack in Great Britain of a body corresponding to the philosophical-historical sections of the Continental academies and capable of representing the general interests of the humanities as those of the physical sciences were represented by the Royal Society, "The British Academy for the Promotion of Historical, Philosophical and Philological Studies" was organized in 1901 and incorporated by royal charter in 1902—a body limited to one hundred Fellows, composed of scholars of high distinction in the various subjects represented, and acting through sectional committees for each of those subjects.

The present volume, handsome in appearance and of high quality in contents, embraces several important philological and philosophical contributions. The papers most likely to interest historical students are that of Professor John Rhys, "Studies in Early Irish History", which proceeds from the Irish druidic inscription of Killeen Cormac as a starting-point; that of Baron de Bildt, Swedish and Norwegian minister, on the Conclave of Clement X. (1670), in which Queen Christina was so deeply interested; that of Dr. F. G. Kenyon on the Evidence of Greek Papyri with regard to Textual Criticism, reassuring to those who have to depend on the ancient historians; that of Sir Frederick Pollock on Locke's Theory of the State; and that of Sir Courtenay Ilbert on occasion of the centenary of the French Civil Code. If the historical student is also a teacher he will be interested in Mr. Michael E. Sadler's suggestive paper on "The Ferment in Education on the Continent and in America". The two annual addresses of the president, Lord Reay, call for little comment. The American eye will be caught by a phrase in the second, in which, speaking of the next triennial meeting of the International Association of Academies, at Vienna in the spring of 1907, he expresses the hope "that by that date that other great branch of the English-speaking Race—the great American people—may be represented among the Academies of the world by a constituent Academy in the Section of Letters". The notion, not undiscussed in America, has much to recommend it. Of the projects considered by the International Association in its session of 1904, the protocols of which are given in an appendix to this volume, there are several in which American learned opinion should be strongly interested; and, speaking more broadly, as American society

ages and cultivation on the side of the humanities ripens, a central body representative of such interests may soon come to seem as desirable as a national academy of the physical sciences.

Of the obituary notices of members, which convention perhaps requires, few have much vital power, or make real, as the French Academy's notices often do, the human being of whom they treat. Those of Lord Acton, Mr. S. R. Gardiner, Mr. Lecky and Sir Leslie Stephen will especially appeal to students of history. A sketch of Ernst Curtius, by Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, already sent out in advance from Vol. II., is extremely interesting. The papers contained in the volume can all be obtained in separate form from the publisher.

The final volume of *The Historians' History of the World*, containing the index, has recently been issued (The Outlook Company, New York, 1905, pp. viii, 662). The index is one both of names and of topics and seems to have been prepared with intelligence and care. In addition there is a complete "Bibliographical Index", giving in alphabetical order the names of all the writers whose works were drawn upon in putting the narrative together, with exact references indicating each place in the body of the work where any given writer has been quoted. For example, "Gorce, Pierre de la, *Histoire du second empire*, Paris, 1894, 4 vols.; Napoleon's address at Bordeaux (op. cit. I, 97-100), 13, 126-127; Battle of the Alma (op. cit. I, 261-267), 17, 565-568; The fall of Sebastopol (op. cit. 434-441), 17, 579-584." The English reader by the help of this index may get brief samples of the narrative of a rather wide range of foreign authors whose works have not been translated.

E. G. BOURNE.

*Actes du Congrès International pour la Reproduction des Manuscrits, des Monnaies et des Sceaux tenu à Liège, les 21, 22 et 23 Août 1905* (Bruxelles, Misch et Thron, 1905, pp. xxviii, 338). Technical as much of the discussion at this congress naturally was, the volume of its proceedings contains much to interest the student of history, especially the student of medieval sources. The history of the organization of the congress is given in the first pages, the formal journal of its sessions in the last, but the greater portion of the book consists of the papers read or submitted beforehand in print for discussion. Even the student of American history may derive profit from the technical papers, for instance, those relating to photography in libraries and archives. Perhaps a larger number will find interest in M. Paul Bergmans's account of previous endeavors toward international co-operation in the making of facsimiles, M. Alphonse Bayot's survey of the present status in respect to the publication of facsimiles of manuscripts, and M. Maurice Prou's more specific report regarding reproductions of charters and other archive-documents. The latter is accompanied by a valuable bibliographical list, prepared by M. Prou and M. René Poupardin. Pro-

fessor Charles M. Gayley of the University of California laid before the congress his project for a central agency in America for the reproduction of European manuscripts and early printed books. His scheme contemplates an endowment of at least half a million dollars, the extensive manufacture of facsimiles to be sold to the subscribing libraries and individuals at a price little above cost, and the formation by regular deposit of a central library of such facsimiles. The plan seems to us to be worthy of all commendation in most of its general features, but to have been thought out less thoroughly than should be in some of its details, especially as regards historical documents and the relative usefulness of facsimiles of different classes of them. The central library of facsimiles seems to us useless. Several American libraries would subscribe to all the reproductions that the agency should publish, and we can think of no readers who would not prefer to study them in places where they had also the use of a great store of other books. The precise vote of the congress respecting Mr. Gayley's propositions, which we were not able to give in our last issue, reads as follows: "Le Congrès émet le vœu de voir M. Gayley organiser aux États-Unis un bureau destiné à provoquer l'exécution de reproductions de manuscrits, de monnaies et de sceaux."

*Glimpses of the Ages, or the "Superior" and "Inferior" Races, so-called, discussed in the Light of Science and History.* By Theophilus E. Samuel Scholes, M.D., etc. (London, John Long, 1905, pp. xvii, 409). The purpose of this book is to review the arguments advanced in support of the alleged superiority of the white race and the alleged inferiority of the colored races. The first part of the volume is rather biological than historical in treatment. The author rejects the whole theory of evolution and holds to the common descent of the races of men from a single pair. With few exceptions the authorities quoted by Mr. Scholes are among those whose names are found in the foot-notes to Darwin's *Descent of Man*.

Turning from biology to history, Mr. Scholes discusses the "mental" side of the alleged inferiority of the colored races. The descriptions of Caesar, Tacitus, Polybius, Plutarch, and Strabo are sufficient to show the original barbarism and unprogressiveness of the European races. Next, arguments from physiology, language, and history are adduced to prove the negro origin of the ancient Egyptians. Then, with somewhat of a leap, Mr. Scholes passes from the old civilization of the Nile to describe the Mandingos, a tribe now resident in the Soudan. These, we are told, show a higher civilization than the early Germans, and prove the ability of the African to assimilate the higher culture.

By all serious students it is recognized that, in the United States, under freedom, the negro population has progressed both industrially and intellectually. This development is much emphasized by Mr. Scholes, but with an enthusiasm which is hardly discerning. One of Du Bois's books is ascribed to George Williams. The names of certain colored

teachers are connected with the University of Virginia. Newspaper articles furnish much material, and statistics are handled somewhat incautiously. The study of soils in "the Department of Agriculture connected with Tuskegee" is evidently regarded as a feature in some way peculiar to that notable school. The period of slavery is referred to in terms of lurid exaggeration, and there is no reference whatever to the civilizing influence of the plantation.

The author's wish to combat Chamberlainism and to urge a juster dealing with the colored races under British rule is perfectly legitimate. To write a book with this purpose is fully justifiable. To include therein a philosophy of history is dangerous, to say the least. However, if such a work were founded upon sound scholarship and executed in a scientific way, it might possibly be helpful. To this standard, unfortunately, the work of Mr. Scholes in no way attains.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

*Constantine the Great: the Reorganisation of the Empire and the Triumph of the Church.* By John B. Firth. (New York, Putnams, 1905, pp. xiii, 368.) The author of this volume is already known to historical readers from his recent biography of Augustus, likewise in the "Heroes of the Nations" series. Mr. Firth does not attempt the impossible task of making Constantine a hero; indeed he is not quite sure that the title of "Great" is well deserved, the importance of the age lying not in the personality of the ruler but in "the first conversion of a Roman Emperor to Christianity, with all that such conversion entailed" (p. v). Accordingly the church bulks large in the narrative, and the character of the emperor falls, quite properly, into the background, although Mr. Firth is one of those who hold that "the only reasonable view to take of the religious character of Constantine is that he was a sincere and convinced Christian" (p. 328). Amid the bitter controversies of the fourth century Mr. Firth shows an evident desire to be fair-minded, and while he is not a profound student of the period, he has read the principal contemporary historians to good purpose and quotes from them freely. Moreover he writes agreeably, and in the dearth of books in English upon these times he has performed a service in giving us a convenient account of the external history of Constantine's reign.

On the side of institutions, however, the book is distinctly weak. The title-page does indeed place the reorganization of the empire side by side with the triumph of the church, but this promise is quickly forgotten. There is no adequate description of the imperial government or of the structure of society, and the few perfunctory pages devoted to these topics in the concluding chapter do not represent present-day scholarship. Evidently the author is unacquainted with the special studies of Mommsen, Hirschfeld, and Seeck in this field, not to mention less-known writers. It is of course not fair to judge the extent of his knowledge by the few authorities which are singled out for mention in

the introduction, but for a period in which German scholars have accomplished so much it is at least suspicious to find no German work cited.

The illustrations compel a word of protest. There are, it is true, several reproductions of coins and monuments, the latter mainly from Grosvenor's *Constantinople*, but what shall we say of the paintings by Raphael, Veronese, and Cranach and the portraits of Constantine and Athanasius "from the British Museum Print Room"? Surely the time has passed when such things can appear, without comment or distinction, among authentic illustrations.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

*Overzicht van de door Brunnenpublicatie aan te vullen Leemten der Nederlandsche Geschiedkennis.* [By the] Commissie van Advies voor 's Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën. (Hague, Nijhoff, 1904, pp. ix, 108.) In 1902 the Queen of the Netherlands instituted a Commission of Advice on historical publications to be undertaken by the state. Organizing under the royal archivist, Dr. T. H. F. van Riemsdijk, as president, and with Dr. H. T. Colenbrander as secretary, the commission proceeded to make a systematic survey of the field of Dutch history, to consider with care what portions were well supplied with printed documentary materials and what portions were lacking, and so, after ample deliberation on possible state undertakings, their varieties and scope, to make this excellent and very interesting report on the gaps needing to be filled, whether by documentary series of general character and many volumes, by briefer and more special series, or by individual volumes relating to particular episodes, persons, or other subjects. Invaluable as the report is to the thoughtful student of Dutch history, it is not here mentioned for this reason, but as a model of how things ought to be done. In the United States, the departments of the federal government, states, cities, historical societies, individuals, pour out documentary volumes in great profusion but with no concert. Duplication, waste, over-production on one side, neglect of another, inevitably ensue. Few persons bestow thought, of more than local scope, on the question what things are really needed; and to those persons governmental agencies almost never listen. It is not thus that "the Dutch are taking Holland". At the end of the report are printed the rules which the commission have framed for the execution under their care of governmental historical publications.

*The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-second Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1175-1176.* With an introduction by J. H. Round. (London, The Pipe Roll Society, Spottiswoode and Company, 1904, pp. xxx, 268.) The Pipe Roll Society has again placed all students of the twelfth century under deep obligation by an addition to its invaluable series, which has been interrupted for four years. The volume appears in a changed form, the roll being printed in *extenso*



instead of in "Record" type as hitherto—a modification which must be considered of questionable advantage since the extensions are not italicized nor is there indication of their editorship. The questionableness of giving up the "Record" type is accentuated when the accuracy of the extension is impugned; and that some charge against its reliability must be brought is seen from a glance at the accounts of Cambridge and Hunts (pp. 70 *et seqq.*).

Under the heading of these counties we find two sheriffs, Ebrard de Beche and Warin de Bassingeburn, jointly accounting for the "firm" of the two counties. At the end of this account, which is rendered unquestionably by both of them, occurs the item, "Et habet de superplus .xij. d." (p. 71). Here we find the singular *habet* when the subject, implied by what precedes, is plural.

The extension of the next item is also doubtful; the entry reads: "Idem vicecomes debet .xx. l. blancorum de tertio anno de firma de Huntendon' que remanent de ipso anno propter werram donec Rex precipiat inde voluntatem suam." The position of the entry, immediately following the account for the "firm" of the year, suggests that it represents a debt of the joint sheriffs, Ebrard and Warin. This suggestion is confirmed by the first lines of the preceding year's account rendered by these same men: "Ebrardus de Beche et Warinus de Bassingeburna redd. Comp. de .xl. l. et .vii. s. et .iv. d. blancorum de veteri firma Comitatum. In thesauro .xx. l. et .vii. s. et .iii. d. blancorum. Et deb. .xx. l. blancorum que remanent super Huntendon de ipso anno propter Werram", etc.<sup>1</sup> Here in almost identical language we find the remnant of the "firm" of Huntingdon debited to Ebrard and Warin, so that whatever the words in the manuscript of the Roll of 22 Henry II. may be, we feel certain that both men are debtors jointly for this item. Clearly then, we rightly expect "Idem vicecomites debent" in this entry.

As we read further we come on groups of doubtful extensions; in every case to determine whether the phrase "Id vic deb" is to be rendered by the singular or by the plural, we may turn for help to the previous Pipe Rolls. In one of these we are certain to find the item entered with some variation that indicates the number of "vic". Groups of these suspicious extensions occur not only in the accounts of Cambridge and Hunts, but also in those of Lincolnshire (pp. 80, 82), London and Middlesex (pp. 11 *et seqq.*), Beds and Bucks (pp. 17, 18, 19). The frequency of passages of this sort makes one long for a scientific text in which all extensions are italicized; or better, the more exact reproduction of the original given us heretofore in the "Record" type. But even as the Roll stands, all scholars must express their thankfulness at the renewal of its valuable work by the Pipe Roll Society.

CURTIS HOWE WALKER.

<sup>1</sup> *Rot. Pip.* 21 H. II., p. 138. Extended from "Record" type.

*England in the Age of Wycliffe.* By George Macaulay Trevelyan. (London and New York, Longmans, 1904, pp. xiv, 380.) In this new edition of his book Mr. Trevelyan has made several alterations, especially in his valuable chapter on "The Peasants' Rising of 1381". These changes have been chiefly suggested by the articles of Mr. George Kriehn, "Studies in the Sources of the Social Revolt in 1381", *AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*, January and April, 1902 (VII. 254-285, 458-484), and to a less extent by the reviews of Mr. Trevelyan's book in the *English Historical Review* and the *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1900.

In a few instances the author has simplified his somewhat exuberant style or suppressed a bit of speculation. Of more consequence are the modifications of his views regarding various incidents connected with the Rising. He accepts Mr. Kriehn's conclusions as to the trustworthy character of the *Anonymous French Chronicle*, and has modified his account of Tyler's death and of the Smithfield Articles so as to bring them into agreement with that narrative. The anti-ecclesiastical nature of the revolt is somewhat more clearly recognized. A few changes in phraseology and a new paragraph on p. 255 give a tone to the whole account that is more sympathetic with the peasants, more appreciative of the justice of their demands, and hence less like the tone of Froissart than before.

Mr. Trevelyan has not altered his opinion as to the results of the Rising, although in the light of Mr. Alexander Savine's researches ("Bondmen under the Tudors", *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, N. S., XVII. 235-286) it is difficult to see how the position can still be maintained that "this attitude of resistance [on the part of the peasants] was an important factor in the economic causes which drove the landlord to manumit his serfs" (p. 254).

Altogether the new matter inserted here and there in the book amounts to not more than two or three pages, to make room for which an equal amount of old matter has been withdrawn.

FRANCES G. DAVENPORT.

*Relations between England and Zurich during the Reformation.* By Th. Vetter. (London, Elliot Stock, 1904, pp. 61.) The author, professor of English philology in Zurich University, published in 1901 *Literarische Beziehungen zwischen England und der Schweiz im Reformationszeitalter*. The present pamphlet names twenty-seven "English scholars and fugitives" who "found a quiet abode" at Zurich; and gives brief information concerning about half of this number. Among the earlier students were John Butler, William Udolph, Nicholas Partidge, Nicholas Eliot, William Peterson, Bartholomew Traheron, or Trehern. Two English merchants, Richard Hilles and John Burcher, were friends of Bullinger and the Reformation in England and Switzerland. Swiss students recommended by Bullinger were kindly treated by Traheron and Hilles, and Johannes von Ulm was engaged to instruct Lady Jane Grey. Among the prominent exiles influenced by the Zurich

reformers five bishops are mentioned: Bale of Ossory, Hooper of Gloucester, Horn of Winchester, Jewel of Salisbury, and Parkhurst of Norwich. Some fifteen exiles came to Zurich on the accession of Mary. "Almost all the high dignitaries of the English church had been his [Bullinger's] guests, and they all referred to him, when anything of importance was to be decided." "About twenty of his works and treatises were translated into English."

The pamphlet shows familiarity with the *Zurich Letters*, *Original Letters*, and *Bullinger's Decades*, published by the Parker Society; with rare English books printed at Zurich; and with recently published sources like the *Bullinger Diarium* and the *Zwingliana*. Possibly some additional information might have been gleaned from the letters and scholarly notes in Herminjard, *Correspondance des Réformateurs*. A letter from Bullinger quoted by Herminjard (IV. 310-311) shows that Eliot had been in Zurich since 1536, not 1537, as Professor Vetter implies (p. 6). No attempt is made to characterize the teachings of the Zurich reformers or their influence on English theology and polity. It is a brief but scholarly account of the amount rather than the nature of the influence of Zurich on England.

H. D. FOSTER.

*L'Établissement du Régime Espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'Insurrection*. Par Ernest Gossart. (Brussels, Lamertin, 1905. pp. xii, 331.) So recently has the loss of the Philippine Islands proved to be the culmination of the decline of Spanish dominance in the world beyond her peninsula that any new light on the first step of this slow retreat should be welcomed. The author of this volume on the revolt of the Netherlands against Philip II. sets out with a definite thesis, namely that the religious side of the struggle has received too much and the political elements too little attention.

M. Gossart's previous studies: *Notes pour servir à l'Histoire du Règne de Charles-Quint* and *Charles-Quint et Philippe II.* have both been published by the Royal Academy of Belgium in the series of *Mémoires Couronnés* (vols. LIV. and LV., 1896 and 1897). A third article entitled "Projets d'Érection des Pays-Bas en Royaume sous Philippe II." appeared in the *Bulletin* of the same society (Classe des Lettres, 1900, pp. 558-578).

Chief of one of the departments of the royal library in Brussels, M. Gossart was in a position to obtain easily all knowledge of the material of sixteenth-century history. In no other city are there such rich stores as in the Belgian capital. Still, in 1897 he deemed it insufficient for his projected exhaustive history of Charles V., and waited for further printing of the records in the archives of Vienna, Lille, Paris, Simancas, and London.

Nothing has been more interesting among the publications of late years than the issues of the records and the diaries of the Venetian ambassadors. The vast mass of Sanuti's papers, whose publication was

completed in 1896, alone offered a wealth of information. Sanuti's training at Louvain gave him a knowledge of the vernacular and thus he had opportunities of knowledge closed to his fellow-countrymen, who remained outsiders though keen observers of passing events. These M. Gossart has studied closely. Thus equipped, it would seem that the result of his labor would be peculiarly fresh and interesting. It must be confessed, however, that one lays down the volume with singular disappointment. It is a fair narrative of events, told without passion and without prejudice, but it is curiously destitute of originality in presentation or in theory. The style is pleasant but colorless. In general summary the author differs naturally from d'Aubigny and from Motley, but on the whole there is little difference in his point of view from that of Pirenne, of Blok, and of other recent writers. His work can, therefore, not be rated as a great contribution to the literature of the subject, but the bibliography has some valuable suggestions.

RUTH PUTNAM.

*The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature.* Clark Lectures given at Trinity College, Cambridge, in the Year 1902-1903. By Barrett Wendell. (New York, Scribners, 1904, pp. ix, 360.) Apology must be made for a tardy notice of this interesting book, whose title, perhaps, scarcely suggests with how much justice it may claim a place among historical works.

With his usual admirable clearness, Professor Wendell traces the changes that occurred in the temper of the English people during that century in which such changes were most conspicuous, and in which also the history of the two great branches of the English-speaking race began to diverge. In the early years of the seventeenth century the English temper was spontaneous, enthusiastic, and versatile; and these traits were characteristic of the nation as a whole. But, somewhat later, disintegration occurred and the isolated individual, speaking only his own message, and splendidly typified by Milton, is characteristic of the period. The intense ideality of the times appears in the civil conflict in which both parties attempted to make legal "rights" conform to ideal "right" as they conceived it. During the period of belief in ideal "right" as "behind and above law", New England was planted; and here the temper of Elizabethan Puritanism long survived unchanged. In England, on the other hand, after the Restoration appeared a new temper of reverence for fact and for the common sense that, while not lacking in ideality, yet did not attempt to "make spiritual ideals materially dominant".

From this brief summary of the book it will be evident that some of the main conclusions are the same as those which Professor Wendell has arrived at in some of his previous writings. Yet the fact that these are treated in a new connection and with fresh illustrations will make the book of interest both to those who were convinced and to those who were unconvinced by his earlier arguments.

F. G. D.

*The Cromwellian Union: Papers relating to the Negotiations for an Incorporating Union between England and Scotland, 1651-1652, with an Appendix of Papers relating to the Negotiations in 1670.* Edited, with introduction and notes, by C. Sanford Terry, M.A. [Publications of the Scottish History Society, volume XL.] (Edinburgh, Constable, 1902. pp. xcvi, 239.) On September 9, 1651, six days after the destruction of the Scottish army at Worcester, the English Parliament began to take measures for the annexation of the conquered country, and shortly afterward appointed a body of commissioners to settle Scottish affairs. On October 28 the policy of Parliament was clearly defined as one of political incorporation. In the following January the commissioners met at Dalkeith to receive from the deputies chosen by the Scottish shires and boroughs their assent to the proposed union, as well as petitions and recommendations from the Scottish constituencies. During the four months that the commissioners passed in Scotland they also set in motion again the administrative machinery of local government.

The majority of the documents in the volume now under review are the "Assents", "Petitions", or "Desires" presented to the commissioners from February to April, 1652, from various shires and boroughs of Scotland. Other documents relate to matters connected with the restoration of administrative government in Scotland; and there are also several news-letters. All the documents except two news-letters date from 1652. They of course throw much light on the attitude of Scotland toward the proposed union.

In his long and admirable preface Mr. Sanford Terry traces the history of the Parliamentary negotiations relative to the union through the Parliaments of 1653, 1654, 1656, and 1658 to the reassembling of the old Scottish Parliament in 1661.

In 1669 a scheme of union was again proposed, and commissioners were appointed by both countries. In an appendix to his volume Mr. Terry has printed, together with some other documents, the "Official Journal" and the "Particular Journall" of the joint meetings of the commissioners.

F. G. D.

*English Colonial Administration under Lord Clarendon, 1660-1667.* By Percy Lewis Kaye, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 5-6.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 150.) Dr. Kaye's paper begins with a brief survey of British colonial policy during the early years of the Restoration, in which he sets forth the general principles of commercial regulation and describes the rudimentary development of the central administrative system. One could wish that he had provided a more adequate setting of contemporary English politics and that the public character of Clarendon had been drawn in a more substantial and vital fashion. This general statement of principles is followed by a

study of their application to a few specific questions of American policy. There is a slight reference to the Carolina colonies and a brief account of the conquest of New Netherland as conceived by the British government and carried out by Nicolls and his associates. The insular colonies are almost wholly ignored and the bulk of the paper is devoted to an account of the dealings of the English government with New England, especially with the recalcitrant colony of Massachusetts, the most detailed treatment being given to the visits of the royal commissioners to New England during the years 1664-1665. The positive results of Clarendon's administration receive, in the final impression left by this paper, less prominence than its inconsistencies and failures. The lavish grants of privilege contained in the Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Carolina charters were certainly at variance with the general purpose of the crown to establish a more effectual control over the colonies, especially in the interest of British commerce and revenue. The negotiations with Massachusetts ended in a decided, though temporary, victory for the colonists.

The author has made a careful use of the familiar sources for this period, and shows some capacity for independent criticism of conclusions reached by earlier writers. On the whole, however, a comparison of Dr. Kaye's paper with earlier treatments of the same subject indicates no considerable addition to our stock of information and no decided novelty in the handling of the material. In the opinion of the reviewer, there is still room for a comprehensive exposition of British colonial policy during this critical period of its development.

The bibliographical apparatus is limited to foot-notes, which are not always full enough to be distinct. It would appear, for instance, that the author's citation of the English state papers is confined to the abstracts in the *Calendars*; but in several instances the brief citation, "Colonial Papers," leaves the reader in doubt whether the writer has gone back of the *Calendars* to the documents themselves.

EVARTS B. GREENE.

*Tre Anni di Guerra e l'Assedio di Torino del 1706.* Narrazione Storico-Militare. Per Pietro Fea. (Rome, Voghera, 1905, pp. 382.) The occasion of this volume is the approaching bi-centenary of an important episode in the war of the Spanish Succession—the relief of Turin by Prince Eugene. The book is a clear and copious narrative of the military operations in Northern Italy from 1703 to 1706 with special reference to the siege and relief of the former capital of Piedmont. No attention is given to the political history of the period.

The style is popular rather than technical; but the book appears to be based on a thorough study of printed sources. No use has been made of unpublished material. An analytical index and four plans of Turin and its environs in 1706 and in modern times add to the usefulness of the work.

F. G. D.

*Der Krieg des Jahres 1799 und die Zweite Koalition.* Von Hermann Hüffer. (Gotha, F. A. Perthes, 1904, 1905, two vols., pp. xxiv, 472; xii, 384.) These volumes constitute a contribution to that specialized study of the wars of the French Revolution of which the author is the foremost German exponent, and in which he has steadily labored and produced for the last twenty-five years. His method of production in late years has been to publish separately the selected sources upon which his historical narrative is based, and to follow these with the narrative itself. Thus in the present case very few documents are given and but few brief quotations from documents, while on the other hand the foot-note references to source-material, whether in the *Quellen* or in other published sources, is comprehensive and even exhaustive. The present volumes cover the campaigns of 1799 in Italy and in Switzerland in particular, and an especial study has been made of the battle of Cassano, April 27, the battles on the Trebbia, June 17-19, the battle of Novi, August 15, and the contests about Zurich, on June 4 and September 25 respectively.

In preparing his accounts of these military events the author has searched every possible source for information bearing not only on the immediate incidents of a battle, but on general plans of campaigns, political conditions and objects, diplomatic manœuvres—in a word for everything, near or remote, that seemed to have a bearing on his study. He uses ordinary historical accounts, official newspapers, memoirs, and letters with discretion, but naturally places most confidence in military and diplomatic archives, and for these last has studied the archives of every important state collection. His work is then most detailed and intensive, and it would be idle to attempt any summary of his statements. For these volumes Professor Hüffer has made research principally in the Record Office in London (primarily for the activities of Nelson at Naples), at Paris, at St. Petersburg, and most of all at Vienna, where the liberality of the Austrian government has made it possible for him to obtain much new material. In all respects his work is marked by the greatest scholarly care and thoroughness and is the final word, to date, upon the topics of which he treats.

E. D. ADAMS.

*Russia.* By Sir Donald Mackenzie Wallace. (New York, Holt, 1905, pp. xx, 672.) The first edition of this work appeared in 1877. In the present edition the author has made some revision of old material and has added much that is new regarding the principal political, economic, and social developments of the last quarter of a century. Of the five new chapters (100 pp.), three relate to successive stages of the revolutionary movement, one to the rise of great manufacturing industries, with the consequent creation of a capitalist class and of an industrial proletariat, and one to "The Present Situation".

The connection between recent economic changes on the one hand, and on the other hand the acceptance of Marxian doctrines, the different



groups in the Social Democratic party, and the tendency of the workingman to accept a programme of political as well as of economic reform are made clear. But although a wide difference exists between the old-fashioned nihilist and the modern Social Democrat, yet the evolution of the latter from the former shows complete continuity. The various revolutionary bodies have all had the same aims. "What has differentiated them from each other is the greater or less degree of impatience to realise the ideal" (p. 600). Similar historical continuity appears in the domestic and foreign policy of the country, so that the author acknowledges that the changes occurring within the quarter of a century are neither so numerous nor so important as he had at first supposed. The additions to the book will be of primary interest to the student of contemporaneous political, social, and economic conditions rather than to the historian.

F. G. D.

The second volume of the Chancellor and Hewes *United States* (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905, pp. xxi, 539) deals with colonial history from 1697 to 1774. Eight volumes more are promised. The first volume of the series was reviewed at length in the April number of this REVIEW (X. 642-645). In plan and in execution the present volume has all the characteristics of the first. The reader will find occasionally a fruitful suggestion or a stimulating freshness of statement; but upon the whole I am constrained to agree fully with the writer of the April notice. It is unfortunate that so faulty a work should be launched upon the public by the reputation of a great publishing house and by strangely favorable notices from several literary periodicals of high standing.

W. M. WEST.

*The Napoleonic Exiles in America: a Study in American Diplomatic History 1815-1819.* By Jesse S. Reeves, Ph.D. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXIII., Nos. 9-10.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1905, pp. 134.) This monograph of seven chapters and an appendix describes, with considerable detail and with long quotations from the sources, the American experiences of the picturesque, even pathetic, little group of Napoleonic exiles, expatriated by the restored Bourbons—Napoleon's brother Joseph, ex-king of Spain, two marshals of the imperial army, six generals, a dozen colonels, counts, and others of less distinction. Dr. Reeves points out the fundamental unfitness of the exiles, by temperament and training, for the prosaic work of colonization. He omits the details of Joseph Bonaparte's quiet life in New Jersey, but traces the unsuccessful experiments of the visionary, flighty Lakanal, ex-priest, professor, and Representative, who purposed to settle in Kentucky, there to write a history of the United States; of Parmentier and his colony of several hundred exiles at Aigleville on the Tombigbee River in Alabama, under the auspices of the French Agricultural and Manufacturing Society, known

also as the Society for the Cultivation of the Vine and Olive; and of the brothers, Generals Charles and Henri Lallemand, with their unauthorized, military Champ d'Asile on the banks of the Trinity in Texas, conveniently near the borders of distracted Mexico.

The material for this clear story of attempted settlements, impossible schemes, and half-formed, impracticable intrigues is drawn from well-known sources: the *American State Papers*, the published memoirs and writings of John Quincy Adams, Gallatin, Joseph Bonaparte, and Hyde de Neuville, and the unpublished papers in the archives of the Department of State. There is no evidence that the French archives were investigated. On the whole, this brochure fails to convince the reader that these exiles from France by their presence or actions influenced in any significant particular the history, institutions, or diplomatic policy of the United States. At most they were annoyances to Monroe, Rush, and Adams, and a sprinkling of spice in the otherwise tasteless, though wholesome and nourishing, mass of immigrants of the early nineteenth century.

The appendix, about one-sixth of the whole, is devoted by Dr. Reeves to some valuable documents and letters relative to the proposed cession of Texas and the Floridas by Joseph, king of Spain and the Indies, in 1811, but it is not clear why this monograph on the Napoleonic exiles, the first of whom reached the United States late in 1815, should be padded with these earlier papers. It certainly does not need them.

KENDRIC CHARLES BARCOCK.

Reverend William Salter, with whose investigations in Iowa history the publications of the Iowa Historical Society have made the public familiar, has written a small volume bearing the explanatory title *Iowa: the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago, McClurg, 1905, pp. 289). The period covered is from the earliest discoveries to the admission of the state to the Union. It dwells especially, as indicated in the title, upon the acquisition of the territory by the United States and the exclusion of slavery through the Missouri Compromise. Limited thus by time and motive, it makes no pretensions to being a comprehensive history of the state.

The first chapters travel familiar ground in the discoveries of Marquette, Joliet, and La Salle, the beginnings of the lead industry, the coming of Father Julien Dubuque, and the Spanish occupancy. Although the transition to American ownership is a special feature of the book, the limitations of space prevent an extended treatment or the introduction of new material. The condensation in places causes the danger of uncertainty in minds unfamiliar with the story. For instance, Federalist influence in the administration of Jefferson might easily be estimated too weighty from these sentences (p. 56): "Jefferson suggested a constitutional amendment [to validate the purchase of Louisiana], and Madison drew up one. Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris thought it unnecessary, that the United States had complete

power, and the suggestion fell to the ground." Jefferson's opinion on Hamilton's influence in dropping the proposed amendment would be interesting.

Subsequent chapters trace the evolution of statehood through the District of Louisiana, the Territory of Louisiana, the Territory of Missouri, the interregnum from 1821 to 1834, the Territory of Michigan, the Territory of Wisconsin, the Territory of Iowa, and, finally, statehood in 1846. Few portions of the United States have seen more changes of control. The recital is unmarked by any details or descriptions, except a long extract (pp. 129-136) from a volume, by Miss Eva E. Dye, called *The Conquest: the True Story of Lewis and Clark* (1902). Descriptions of early Iowa are reprinted from the journal of Lieutenant Albert Lea in the *Iowa Historical Records*, and from Catlin's works.

In connection with the free-soil of Iowa, a sketch is given (pp. 241-244) of the case of Ralph, a fugitive slave, in which the territorial Supreme Court gave a decision in 1839 exactly the opposite of that given in the Dred Scott case nearly twenty years later. He had been sent from Missouri to the Dubuque lead-mines, on a written agreement with his master to work out the price of his freedom. Although he failed to keep the agreement, the court decided that he was a free man because he had come to reside on free soil with the consent of his owner.

The little book seems quite free from errors. "Thirty-six years" (p. 268), the period elapsing between the Compromise of 1820 and the admission of the state, should evidently be "twenty-six". The volume is a very creditable addition to the bibliography of the state of Iowa.

E. E. SPARKS.

*History of Early Steamboat Navigation on the Missouri River: Life and Adventures of Joseph La Barge, Pioneer Navigator and Indian Trader, for Fifty Years Identified with the Commerce of the Missouri Valley.* By Hiram Martin Chittenden, Captain Corps of Engineers, U. S. A. [American Explorers Series.] (New York, Francis P. Harper, 1903, two vols., pp. xiv, 248; iii, 249-461.) In these two volumes Captain Chittenden admirably supplements his invaluable study of *The American Fur Trade of the Far West* (1902) by bringing together material illustrative of the early navigation of the Missouri. Captain La Barge was born in 1815 in St. Louis, and in 1896 he dictated to Captain Chittenden the memoirs of his life, which "embraced the entire era of active boating business on the river". His experiences, therefore, constitute a thread on which the author has strung a large amount of information with regard to transportation in the days of the fur-trade, Indian relations, the competition of rival firms, the relation of the steamboat to army occupation, and, finally, the downfall of steam navigation in the far West by the competition of the railroad.

It would seem that Captain La Barge in his old age presented a somewhat idealized view of the contact of the Indian and the fur-

trader before the days of the emigrant (p. 354). The reader of Coues's *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest*, for instance, will certainly find it hard to reconcile the statement that the "relation of the two races was ideal, and during its continuance the Indian is seen at his best." However, the Indian at his best is a comparative statement after all.

In general, it may be said that the two volumes furnish an entertaining picture, as well as a body of useful information on the early history of the industrial occupation of the Missouri valley.

F. J. TURNER.

*History of the Bahama Islands, with a Special Study of the Abolition of Slavery in the Colony.* By James Martin Wright. [Special publication from *The Bahama Islands* by permission of the Geographical Society of Baltimore.] (Baltimore, The Lord Baltimore Press, 1905, pp. 419-583.) The significant part of this brochure is a monograph upon negro slavery and the process of emancipation in the Bahamas. It is written by a very capable student after thorough study of the archives, which are very full and complete in the premises. The Bahamas in this period of chief interest were a microcosm exhibiting many of the essential features of English colonial policy and its difficulties, on the one hand, and of American problems of slavery and abolition on the other. There were the long wrangles between the imperial government and the colonial assembly, so typical of constitutionally governed colonies; and in particular the conflict of the principles of central control and local self-government which arose conspicuously in the federal government of the United States. Theories, policies, and interests, debates and their outcome in successive new problems, are concretely demonstrated, with many personal and administrative details. Full references to sources are given. The rest of the work is made up of a very brief introductory sketch of the early history, which might have been improved by research in continental American newspaper files, and of a fuller but somewhat disjointed treatment of developments in the later period, extending to near the present day. The style varies widely as different topics are treated.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

*The Genealogist, a Quarterly Magazine of Genealogical, Antiquarian, Topographical, and Heraldic Research.* Edited by H. W. Forsyth Harwood. New Series, Vol. XXI. (London, Bell, 1905, pp. viii, 318, 23, 241-272.) Important features of the twenty-first volume of the new series of the *Genealogist* are the indexes of the subjects and illustrations contained in the first twenty volumes of the series. Of historical interest is the article by Mr. V. Gibbs on the battle of Boroughbridge and the Boroughbridge Roll in which the attempt is made to give a list of the most important persons concerned in the revolt against Edward II. Transcripts of wills and other documents preserved in French or

English archives are included in some articles, notably in that on the families of Lacy, Geneva, Joinville, and La Marche.

## TEXT-BOOKS

*A School History of the United States.* By HENRY ALEXANDER WHITE, Ph.D., D.D., formerly Professor of History in Washington and Lee University. (New York: Silver, Burdett, and Company. 1904. Pp. xi, 422, 49.)

*A History of the United States.* By WILLIAM C. DOUB, Ex-Superintendent of Schools for Kern County, California. (New York: The Macmillan Company; London: Macmillan and Company. 1905. Pp. xxvii, 631, xxxviii.)

By the publication of these volumes two more texts are added to the rather extensive list intended for grammar-schools. Dr. White informs us, in the preface, that while he "has endeavored to write impartially of all sections", he "has taken special pains that due attention should be given to the part played by the people of the South in all periods of American history".

The forty-one chapters are grouped into seven parts or periods, given the usual names: Period of Discovery and Exploration; Period of Colonization, etc. The conventional method of discussing the settlement and early history of each colony has been followed. The story of the saving of John Smith by Pocahontas is related (p. 29) without a doubt expressed as to its authenticity. Emphasis is given to the influence of European affairs in America. The use of the terms King William's War, Queen Anne's War, and King George's War is continued, however, with little to indicate that they were but a part of great struggles carried on in Europe under other names. One of the best chapters is on "Life in the Colonies in 1763." Here are discussed roads, education, occupations, etc. This feature of our text-books is now a necessity; and it is to be regretted that the other "periods" are not strengthened in a similar way.

The determination by a writer to see that full justice is done any section of our country has its limitations. Beginning with the chapter on "The Thirteen Confederate States", and in the succeeding chapters to the year 1877, Dr. White has placed special emphasis upon the views held by the South on the great questions at issue. Writing of the ratification of the Constitution (p. 184), he says: "The new Confederation was formed by the voluntary union of eleven states, each of which seceded from the Confederation formed in 1781." Giving an account of the "Hayne and Webster Debate", he writes (p. 240): "Daniel Webster, in a speech that was brilliant in manner and style, contended that Hayne's view of the matter was not correct, and claimed that the Constitution was not a compact. Most persons now believe, however, that Webster himself was incorrect in his view concerning the origin of the

Constitution." Again, he writes of the outbreak of war (p. 298): "In 1861 two American confederacies stood face to face upon the field of war."

The proportion is, in the main, good. It is believed, however, that New England and the Middle States together should be given more than twenty-three pages, if thirty-three pages are assigned to the discussion of the early history of the southern colonies. Too many pages, sixty-eight, are used in the campaigns connected with the Civil War when but one hundred and five pages are regarded as adequate for the history between the years 1789 and 1861. The style is clear and well suited to pupils of the grammar-schools. There is a wealth of good biographies. The text is well supplied with maps and other illustrative material. Good portraits of leading men form a special feature. The author, no doubt, could justify his selection of the portraits of twenty Southern leaders and only ten Northern for illustrating the period between 1861 and 1865; or why in this list Secretary of War James A. Seddon and General Van Dorn should be included and not Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and General Rosecrans; or why, of the four portraits of noted Americans in the Spanish-American War, three are of men from the south.

Errors in statement are numerous, as: in discussing the Articles of Confederation (p. 171), "A central Congress was established, consisting of seven delegates from each state." Again (p. 204): "James Monroe and Robert Livingston were sent to France, and they made with Napoleon a treaty whereby Louisiana was sold", etc. In the discussion of the Monroe Doctrine, we read (p. 229): "Russia, Prussia, Austria and France then formed the so-called Holy Alliance, for the purpose of helping Spain to conquer the South American republics that had once been her colonies."

Our history should be written in such a manner that it may be studied by pupils in all sections of the country without creating prejudices. This book does not seem to be written impartially and cannot, although it has many excellent qualities, be recommended for use in our schools.

The leading feature of Mr. Doub's text-book is the "division . . . into periods"; "the division of each period into topics"; and the "continuous discussion of each topic". The plan appears at its best in the presentation of the material between the years 1789 and 1861. Chapters and administrations disappear. Two periods are selected: (1) National Growth and European Interference, from 1789 to 1828; and (2) Westward Expansion and Slavery. Five topics are discussed in each period—as under (1): 1. The Period of European Interference; 2. Financial Legislation: the Tariff; 3. Political Parties; 4. Growth of the Nation; and 5. Institutional Life; and under (2): 1. Political Methods and Political Parties; 2. Financial Legislation: the Tariff; 3. Growth of the Nation in Territory and Population; 4. The Slavery Question; and 5. Institutional Life. The author

has carried the grouping system to the extreme. It would seem natural to speak of the earliest Spanish and French settlements in connection with the explorations by the representatives of those nations in place of leaving the discussion until after the English colonies have been established. The Period of European Interference (pp. 356-392), including such subjects as: the French Revolution, Jay Treaty, Purchase of Louisiana, War in 1812, and Monroe Doctrine, precede the discussion of Hamilton's financial measures, so essential to an understanding of the establishment of the new government.

Mr. Doub has made the study of "civics" a second leading feature. With a limited number of pages, the various functions of government receive but little consideration. In the analysis of the Constitution (pp. 341-347), the judiciary is unduly emphasized by giving it as much space as the legislative and executive departments together. Among the commendable features are the following: the space given to the life of the people; comparatively few pages given to accounts of the wars; and the large number of well-executed maps. "Questions and topics" are given at the close of each general period, the questions being chiefly upon the paragraphs of the text. To use some sixty-five pages in this way is a very doubtful expedient. There is but slight emphasis placed upon supplementary work. Four books only are recommended for the use of pupils and eight for teachers.

The reviewer believes the text, as a whole, to be too comprehensive for pupils of the grammar-school age. Parts of it might be used to advantage for reference, and it would also be valuable to teachers in conducting reviews. A few omissions should be noted. No mention is made of the Portuguese expeditions and their influence on Columbus. The difficulties Columbus encountered and the means by which he was finally enabled to start on his expedition are not related. No reference is made to Cortez and Pizarro; to the charters of 1609 and 1612; and to the influence of Thomas Hooker in Connecticut. The accounts of the expeditions of Marquette and La Salle would have been strengthened had the routes they took been sketched. The influence of John Hay on the problems of the Orient might well have been discussed.

J. A. JAMES.

*A Brief Survey of British History*, by C. E. Snowden, M.A. (London, Methuen, 1905, pp. xii, 159), is such an ingenious compilation of dates, names, and facts as a candidate for the doctor's degree in this country may sometimes excerpt from his store of notes and jot down together to aid his memory at the supreme test. But such a compilation, however valuable to the compiler, is rarely of much service to others. Mr. Snowden's compilation, according to the modest and ingenuous preface, was originally "made for the benefit of a class of small boys preparing for the Oxford Local Juniors Examination"; subsequently it was enlarged and "compared with and checked by several of the best school text-books". Though larger in bulk than Acland and Ransome's well-



known little *Handbook*, with which a comparison is natural, it is decidedly slimmer in contents, and can scarcely be as useful to students or teachers. In numerous notes, made by boiling down parts of Medley's *Manual*, an attempt is made to give the essence of England's constitutional history, but the attempt is not a complete success. Several appendixes, "illustrative of the points of contact between Great Britain, her colonies, and foreign nations", are too disjointed to be suggestive. One would gladly have spared the lists of "Ladies of England" and of English queens since the Norman Conquest to make room for some such helpful tables of the composition and growth of the two Houses of Parliament as Acland and Ransome give. The full genealogical tables are good and mostly accurate. Half the value of a book of information of this kind lies in a good index; this book has none.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

## COMMUNICATIONS

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Sir:

I ask the privilege of pointing out some of the incorrect statements and deductions made by the writer of the notice of my *Short History of Venice* in the REVIEW for October, 1905, pp. 132-135. Similar treatment of a work on American or English history might well go unnoticed, for we have a hundred experts in those fields who could judge between the reviewer and the author: but in Venetian history we have few experts, and were I to remain silent, your readers might infer that I accept the condemnation implied by your reviewer's strictures. A historian who has devoted years to his work cannot rest under the imputation of neglecting the elementary sources of material; especially when that imputation is made in the special organ of his fellow-workers in history.

As it would be impossible for you to print a detailed rebuttal, I shall limit myself to showing that on all the main questions I have the support of one or more of the recognized modern authorities. This will serve to dissipate the impression which he creates, that I am hopelessly wrong and alone on all points, while he is infallibly right and has the accepted opinion of every student of Venetian history behind him.

I. This is the paragraph from my history on which your reviewer first fastens: "So the year 452 stands as the date of the origin of Venice, although the old chroniclers, *with the suspicious precision of ignorance*, set March 25, 421, as the very day when, 'about noon,' the foundation stone of the city was laid. Their earlier date doubtless refers to an actual event—the sending from Padua of maritime tribunes to govern the settlers on the islands of Rivoalto, or Rialto; but to Attila's scourge we trace the decisive emigration from the mainland to the Lagoon out of which the Venetian Republic sprang" (p. 4).

To this statement, sufficiently guarded as it seems to me, your reviewer, omitting to quote the qualifying phrase which I have italicized, proceeds to say, what every student knows, that the document on which rests the story of the founding on March 25, 421, is a forgery; and he adds, "it is hard to see how the truth of an event of the fifth century can be inferred from a forged document of a much later period." It has apparently not occurred to him that tradition has also its place in any account of the obscure origins of states. A historian of ancient Rome who should omit the legend of Romulus, because as yet we have no baptismal record signed by the parish clerk, might be deemed over-scrupulous. The question to decide is, Did the Paduans at that early

period probably control the island settlements? Mr. Horatio F. Brown says: "There is little doubt that the document, as we have it, is a forgery; though it is highly probable that its substance is true to fact; and if it cannot be taken as establishing the date of the foundation of Venice, it is instructive for various reasons." Professor Musatti—whose recent critical work your reviewer seems to have overlooked—says: "It is indeed true that Malamocco and Chioggia were subject to the jurisdiction of Padua, which had its boundary precisely at Rialto."

II. Your reviewer continues: "Equally unfounded is the statement that Attila's invasion in 452 was the occasion of the foundation of an independent Venetian commonwealth." It will be observed that your reviewer, misusing my phrases "the origin of Venice" and "the decisive emigration from the mainland to the Lagoon out of which the Venetian Republic sprang", would have me appear to state that "an independent Venetian commonwealth" was founded in exactly 452. If a historian should write, "To the settlers at Jamestown in 1607 and at Plymouth in 1620 we trace the decisive emigration out of which the American republic sprang", I venture to say that no critic would care to object that the American republic did not come into existence until 1776. But your reviewer, by imposing on my words a rigidity which does not belong to them, argues therefrom that my brief account of the origin of Venice is erroneous.

As to the causal relation between Attila's invasion and the origin of Venice, many authorities might be quoted; I confine myself to three: Mr. Hodgson says: "The first beginnings of Venice are thus an incident in the history of Attila, the scourge of God, and he may in a sense be looked on as the founder of the city." Mr. Horatio Brown says: "Although the year 452 has no more claim than the year 421 to be reckoned as the precise date for the foundation of Venice, yet it undoubtedly marks the first great point in the development of the lagoon population into a separate state."<sup>4</sup> Professor Musatti describes in some detail how the inhabitants of the mainland fled to the islands of the Lagoon, "and particularly to Rialto", and how Padua was thenceforth constrained to allow the islands to govern themselves. "Having become entirely independent [of Padua and the parent cities], the inhabitants of Maritime Venice were obliged to choose their own tribunes," etc.<sup>5</sup>

III. Your reviewer says: "There is no credible evidence that any city was founded at Rialto until centuries after 421." This is a peculiarly elusive misstatement of my position: I nowhere affirm that a city was founded at Rialto in 421. I do imply, on the other hand, that refugees settled on the islands of Rialto and on the neighboring islands during the invasion. On this point Brown, Musatti, Molmenti,

<sup>1</sup> H. F. Brown, *Venice* (London, 1893), 4.

<sup>2</sup> Eugenio Musatti, *La Storia Politica di Venezia* (Padua, 1897), 10.

<sup>3</sup> F. C. Hodgson, *The Early History of Venice* (London, 1901), 17.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.*, 10-11.

Hodgkin, Hodgson, Hazlitt, and all modern authorities are agreed; and all the earlier historians, at least back to Andrea Dandolo (Muratori, *Rerum Ital. Scriptores*, XII.), held the same view.

IV. The next statement to which your reviewer objects is this: "During more than thirteen hundred years from the time when they [the island settlers] fled from Attila, they never submitted to domination from abroad, nor suffered a tyrant at home" (p. 4). Wrenched from its context, and from the qualifications of the succeeding forty pages, this statement is susceptible of misinterpretation. Your reviewer ought in fairness to have given my entire position: to have stated that later I am careful to use the phrase "virtual independence", as showing that, although for several centuries Venice was nominally dependent on the Eastern Empire, actually there is no record that a foreign envoy, governor, or other official ever dictated a single command in the Lagoon settlements, or that those settlements did not regulate their own affairs without foreign interference. If this does not constitute "virtual independence", in the sense in which I use these words, what does? Your reviewer's quotation from Procopius has long been known to scholars, but unfortunately it has not had the effect of clearing up doubts: on the contrary, opinions are still as divided as if it did not exist.

In regard to the nature of the influence of the Eastern Empire on the early Republic opinions vary greatly. Your reviewer, instead of saying, "Equally unfounded is the statement that Venice was never dependent upon Constantinople", ought, in candor, to have defined what he means by "dependent", and to have hinted that this is one of the ancient controversies among historians. Instead of that, he makes this bald assertion, and leaves the reader to infer that my position throughout is unsound and unsupported. The plan of my book did not permit controversial digressions; but from p. 12 or from such a note as that on p. 18 an open-minded reader may see that I had considered both sides of this question of dependence. In general I lean to the side of the Venetians rather than to that of the Byzantines, and in this I have the support of many eminent authorities. I quote only three: "From this account [of the Chronicle of Altinum], confirmed by later chronicles, it appears clear that the first political relation of the Venetians toward the Empire was (like that previously with the Gothic kings of Italy) that of a protectorate rather than of subjection (*servitù*)."<sup>1</sup> "They recognized the emperor as overlord (*alto signore*); they bound themselves to the servile forms required by the haughty vanity of the eastern court; they accepted the general custom of heading their own acts with the name and year of the reigning Caesar; but they continued to rule themselves with their own laws, with their own magistrates; they made wars, concluded treaties—all things which they could not have done in a condition of subjection."<sup>2</sup> "Most readers will, I believe,

<sup>1</sup> Musatti, *op. cit.*, 8.

<sup>2</sup> S. Romanin, *Storia Documentata di Venezia* (Venice, 1853), I. 82.

think that Gfrörer has given this feature of the History [the dependence of Venice on the Eastern Empire] undue prominence."

V. Your reviewer says (p. 134): "Mr. Thayer's account of the growth of the Venetian state gives us little that is new, and there is a lack of distinction in bringing out the perspective of the great events." These statements do not agree with those which have reached me during the past few months from the best living authorities in America and Italy on Venetian history, and from other historians and scholars.

VI. Your reviewer censures me for not explaining "as clearly as we should wish how the degenerate Romans . . . became transformed into the . . . masterful Venetians". I do not explain for the very good reason that there is no sufficient evidence. Gfrörer (*Geschichte Venedigs*, Graz, 1872, p. 4), not to mention other writers, found the same blank.

VII. Your reviewer finds my account of the Council of Ten "quite misleading". He says that "the political activity of that council was called forth (like the dictatorship in Rome) in emergencies," etc. This is as correct as it would be to say that the British prime minister acts in time of war only. He extols the account of the Venetian constitution in the *Quarterly Review* as being "perhaps the best". My own account was derived directly from the Venetian sources; I did not, in fact, read the *Quarterly Review* article until many months after writing my chapter, and I am therefore innocent of the imputation of plagiarism. One familiar with the Venetian sources on this point would hardly set a high value on the *Quarterly's* article, which even in English is not to be compared, for instance, with Mr. Horatio Brown's summary in his *Venetian Republic* (Temple Primer Series, 1902, pp. 98-118).

In conclusion let me remark that your reviewer has failed to give the reader a true idea of the general character of my book. One might infer, from his method, that I had produced a voluminous critical history, inviting controversy on the most minute verbal and textual matters. Instead of that, I have attempted in the course of 80,000 words to make a rapid narrative of the general course of Venetian development, and to interpret its significance. In this respect, the book might still have value, even were its account of the origins as absurd as a reader might gather from your reviewer's opinions. Every scholar welcomes criticism which helps to correct errors: but is there, for a critic, a greater error than to apply to one species of historical writing methods of criticism which are appropriate only to a very different kind? What should we think of a critic who treated Mr. John Morley's terse monograph on Voltaire by canons fitting for Professor David Masson's six colossal volumes on Milton? Any historian, from Thucydides to Bryce, can be discredited by the method which your reviewer has applied to my book.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

<sup>1</sup> Hodgson, *op. cit.*, xviii.

## TO THE MANAGING EDITOR:

It would be ungracious to question the justice of the criticism in the excellent (and flattering) review of the Library of Congress edition of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, printed in the October issue of this REVIEW (XI. 170-172); but the point of view of the editor of the *Journals* may be of interest and perhaps offer some ground for introducing a better general system of treating such compilations. So many details are concerned in the preparation and printing of such a work that it is impossible to believe that serious errors have not been committed; and the most careful consideration may not have prevented technical blunders which reduce the utility of the volumes to the student. For all such errors the editor is responsible.

It was my original intention to include in each volume a list of the members of the Congress for the period covered by the volume. I soon concluded that such a list would be misleading. The times of the beginning and of the length of service differed in the different colonies and states, and vacancies were filled on various systems. A member might serve for only a part of his term, and the delegation from a colony in December might be very different from that in January of the same year. The usual manner of preparing such lists, *e. g.*, William C. Houston, 1779-1782, was apt to mislead, because there was no evidence when the actual service began or when it terminated. I saw the same difficulty in a single year's record, and believed that a simpler and more certain method was to leave to the investigator the task of determining the membership and attendance as should meet his particular needs. The means of doing this is to be found in the index. Is the delegation of a colony in question? Under each colony is a reference to the credentials of its representation, and the credentials give the precise conditions of appointment. Is an individual delegate needed? Under each name is given a reference to the credentials under which he acted, and mention of his attendance where particularly noted. Further, a list of the committees on which he serves will indicate in a general way his attendance from day to day, so far as that can be determined; and from his correspondence notes supplementing this record are taken. By these means his actual service can be traced and the incompleteness of a bald list of members obviated. The person consulting the volume can hardly go astray. In the volume for 1776 will be given a list of the "standing committees" as they existed from year to year, but I cannot believe that a list of the members of the Congress would be an addition.

The use of erased (or lined) type is to show the development of a paper in the process of composition or passage through Congress. The writer of a report will weigh his words and phrases, and the changes made are of value as they indicate the processes of his thought. His original propositions may be altered by others, or struck out, or displaced by amendments; and a comparison will mark the differences of opinion in committee or in Congress. The erased type permits the en-

tire paper to be given in an intelligible form without the awkward multiplication of brackets, parentheses, and notes, and without resorting to typographical vagaries which disfigure the page, when erasures of text and insertions are sought to be shown in cold type. Lined type was used in the *Writings* of Jefferson, Washington, Monroe, and Madison (Putnams), and I did not believe any explanation to be necessary. The selection of the year as a unit was to obviate a great multiplication of indexes. If 1776 require three volumes, there would be six volumes and six indexes, and with 1777, nine, in place of three and four as under the present scheme. A final volume, comprising a combined index to the series, will obviate in part the objection to the method adopted. An account of the papers or manuscripts themselves is reserved for the "Calendar of the Papers of the Continental Congress", now in preparation.

I shall welcome criticism and suggestion, as the opportunity presented by the liberal management of the Library of Congress for a final edition is not one to be wasted or impaired by an insistence on personal methods or individual prejudices.

WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD.



## NOTES AND NEWS

### GENERAL.

The American Historical Association holds its twenty-first annual meeting at Baltimore and Washington on December 26-29. At the first session, held jointly with the American Political Science Association, addresses will be delivered by the presidents of the two associations. Two sessions are devoted to conferences on questions connected with history in elementary schools and in colleges, with the work of historical societies, and with church history, two sessions more are given up to papers on American history, and one to papers dealing mainly with the history of Europe. A full account of the proceedings of the meeting will be given in the April number of the REVIEW.

The second annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association was held in San Francisco on December 1 and 2. At the general session, on Friday afternoon, three papers were read: "Legislating through State Constitutions", by Eugene I. McCormac; "Origin of the National Land System under the Confederation", by Payson Jackson Treat; and "Fugitive Slave Legislation in America", by F. G. Franklin. In the evening an informal dinner was held at which the annual address by President Horace Davis was delivered. The Saturday morning session was devoted to the subject of the teaching of history, while that in the afternoon was given over to Pacific coast history, with papers by Professor Schafer on "The First Great Movement of Americans to the Pacific"; by C. K. Bonestell on "Secularization of the Missions of Upper California"; and by Professor C. A. Duniway on "Slavery in California after 1849". At the business session the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Horace Davis; vice-president, William D. Fenton; secretary and treasurer, Max Farrand; executive committee, James D. Phelan, H. Morse Stephens, Joseph Schafer, C. A. Duniway.

Samuel Adams Drake died December 5, at Kennebunkport, Maine, aged seventy-two. His historical writings dealt principally with New England subjects, although he published a volume on Virginia and another on the West. His work, although much of it was purposely adapted to younger readers, was scholarly and careful. His tastes were antiquarian, as is shown in the titles of a number of his pamphlets and sketches relating to New England. Among his more important works are *Border Wars of New England* (1897), based on material collected by his father, Samuel G. Drake, *The Making of New England* (1886), and a volume of eleven British narratives relating to Bunker Hill. At

the time of his death he was at work on a history of the United States, which his father began, and which he had labored long to complete.

M. Alfred Rambaud, Member of the Institute and professor of modern history at the Sorbonne, died in Paris on November 10 at the age of sixty-two. He was an active participant in public affairs and a leader of public opinion as well as a distinguished historian. In 1870, his thesis on *L'Empire Grec au X<sup>e</sup> Siècle, Constantin Porphyrogénète*, marked the revival of Byzantine studies in France. For reasons of public policy he desired that his countrymen should be acquainted with the history of Russia and together with a few others undertook the task of familiarizing them with it. In 1876 he published *Chansons Héroïques de la Russie*, in 1877, *Moscou et Sébastopol*, and in 1878, his well-known *Histoire de la Russie*. From 1879 to 1880, he was Minister of Public Instruction under Jules Ferry, and a zealous defender of his chief's policy of expansion. In collaboration with others, he brought out in 1886 *France Coloniale* and in 1885-1888 published his *Histoire de la Civilisation Française*. In 1890 appeared his *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France en Russie*, and in 1893-1901 the admirable *Histoire Générale du IV<sup>e</sup> Siècle à nos jours*, which he edited in co-operation with M. E. Lavisse. From 1896 to 1898 he was again Minister of Public Instruction. In 1897 he became a member of the Institute. His last work was *Jules Ferry* (1903). M. Rambaud excelled in brilliant and exact synthesis and was able to present sound learning in a popular form. He was the author of a few novels and for some years was the editor of the *Revue Bleue*.

Professor Wilhelm Oncken, of the University of Giessen, who died on August 11, aged sixty-six, is most widely known as the editor of the *Allgemeine Geschichte in Einzeldarstellungen*, 1879-1893, to which he contributed three monographs on different periods of the modern history of Prussia. His earlier works mostly concerned the ancient history of Greece.

Professor Ernst Berner, archivist of the royal family of Prussia, died on October 12, at the age of fifty-two. His writings include: *Die Geschichte des preussischen Staats*, 1896; *Wilhelm der Grosse*, 1897; *Aus dem Briefwechsel König Friedrichs I. von Preussen und seiner Familie*, 1901; *Der Regierungsanfang des Prinzregenten von Preussen und seiner Gemahlin*, 1902. Professor Berner's place as editor of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft* will be taken by Dr. Georg Schuster.

Sir William Muir, an eminent Arabic scholar and Principal of the University of Edinburgh from 1885 to 1902, died on July 11 at the age of eighty-six. Among his works are the *Life of Mahomet and History of Islam to the Hegira*; and *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*. At the time of the Indian Mutiny he was in charge of the Intelligence Department of the government of the Northwest Provinces of India,

and in 1902 superintended the publication of the *Records* of this department.

Captain Montagu Burrows, who died on July 10, at the age of eighty-five, had had a long and active career in the Royal Navy, during which he was engaged in the suppression of the slave-trade on the African coast. Since 1862 he had been Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford and had written a considerable number of books, among which were the lives of three admirals, several volumes on the constitutional and political history of England, *The Family of Brocas of Beaurepaire and Roche Court*, and *Cinque Ports* in the "Historic Towns" series.

The work of the Bureau of Historical Research (now officially styled Department of Historical Research) of the Carnegie Institution has proceeded during the past quarter mostly along the lines of development already instituted under the wise and skilful management of Professor McLaughlin. *Writings on American History, 1903*, a bibliographical volume compiled by Messrs. McLaughlin, W. A. Slade and E. D. Lewis, attempting to list all books and articles on that subject which appeared in that year, has been published. Preparations are well under way for similar volumes relating to 1904 and 1905, and it is hoped that ultimately such surveys of the annual historical product may appear within a few months after the close of each year. Messrs. Van Tyne and Leland's *Guide to the Archives of the Government in Washington* having come to be out of print, a revised edition is being prepared. Mr. McLaughlin's pamphlet *Report on the Diplomatic Archives of the Department of State* is also to be reissued. Considerable progress has been made in the collection of material for the proposed volumes of *Letters written by Delegates to the Continental Congress and Congress of the Confederation* to the authorities of their states, which when completed will, it is hoped, furnish valuable records of proceedings in Congress, supplementing the Journals. Another documentary publication which is in preparation is a collection, edited by Miss Frances G. Davenport, of treaties or parts of treaties between European powers, which have a bearing on the history of the United States.

The publications of the Department will naturally fall into two classes, a series of texts, of which two specimens have just been mentioned, and a series of reports, aids and guides, relating to materials; *c. g.*, the three publications first named above. This latter class will be enlarged before long by several reports on the materials for American history in foreign archives. It is likely that the first of these to be issued will be Mr. Luis M. Pérez's report on the archives of Cuba. The materials are nearly all collected for those of Mr. C. M. Andrews on England and Mr. W. R. Shepherd on Spain, but their preparation for the press will naturally take some months. The listing of transcripts now in the United States made from documents in those archives is proceeding under the care of Mr. W. G. Leland. Through the kindness

of the archivist of the Dominion of Canada, Dr. A. G. Doughty, arrangements have been made whereby reports on materials for the history of the United States found in the provincial archives of the Maritime Provinces and Quebec will be supplied by Dr. James Hannay and Father P. M. O'Leary respectively.

The Prussian Government is to erect in Berlin a statue to the memory of Mommsen and it is proposed to erect a companion statue of Ranke. The statue of Mommsen will be of marble and will be placed in front of the University, to the right of the main entrance.

Professor Hermann Oncken of the University of Berlin is giving instruction in modern German history at the University of Chicago during the autumn and winter quarters of the present year.

Mr. Wallace Notestein of Yale University has been appointed assistant professor of European history in the University of Kansas.

In the *Report of the Eighth International Geographical Congress*, held in the United States in 1904 (58 Cong., 2 Sess., Ho. Doc. 460) are a few papers that may properly be noted in these columns: "Rise and Development of the German Colonial Possessions", by Graf von Pfeil; "The Cabot Landfall", by G. R. F. Prowse; "Some Early Geographers of the United States", by Rear-Admiral C. M. Chester; "Des Chrétiens de Saint Mathieu existant en Afrique au commencement du XIV<sup>me</sup> Siècle et de l'Identification à l'Ouganda de l'Empire Chrétien de Magdador", by Professor Frédéric Romanet du Caillaud; "Fundación de Mexico-Tenochtitlan", by Professor Alfredo Chavero; and "Geography and History in the United States", by Professor Albert Perry Brigham.

The fifteenth international congress of Americanists is to be held in Quebec, from September 10 to 15. The last congress was held in Stuttgart. The programme of the Quebec meetings has not yet been announced, but the native races of America, American archaeology, and European discovery in America will be dealt with.

An English version of Putzger's *Historischer Schul-Atlas* is under preparation at the hands of Professor W. R. Shepherd of Columbia University.

We note the organization in Chicago, last summer, of the Swedish-American Historical Society. Its objects, as set forth in the constitution, are to promote the study of the history of the Swedes in America and their descendants; to collect a library and museum illustrating their development in America; to issue publications relating to the history of the Swedish people in Sweden and America; and to encourage the study of Swedish history and literature in American universities. The officers of the society are: president, John A. Enander; vice-president, Gustav A. Andreen; secretary, Anders Schön; treasurer, Aksel G. S. Josephson.

A work by G. B. Brown entitled *Care of Ancient Monuments: Account of Legislative and other Measures adopted in European Countries for protecting Ancient Monuments and Objects and Scenes of Natural*

*Beauty, and for preserving the Aspect of Historical Cities*, has been published by the Cambridge University Press (pp. 274);

A co-operative work that promises to be of great value and interest is *Die Kultur der Gegenwart, ihre Entwicklung und ihre Ziele*, edited by P. Hinneberg (Leipzig, Teubner). The purpose of the work is to present, in untechnical language and from the historical point of view, a systematic account of the culture of the present day; and of the significance to general cultural development of the most fundamental results arrived at in the various fields of learning. The co-operation of many eminent scholars has been secured. Part I. treats of religion and philosophy, music and art, and is in fourteen divisions, each of which is to form a substantial volume. Part II., dealing with state and society, law and economics, is in ten divisions, of which the first to appear are *Staat und Gesellschaft Europas und Amerikas in der Neuzeit*, and *System der Rechtswissenschaft*. Other divisions treat of anthropo-geography, constitutional and administrative history from primitive to modern times, both in the Orient and in Europe; state and society in the Orient, ancient and medieval history of Europe, general legal and economic history, etc. Parts III. and IV. deal with the physical sciences and with the technique of industry, commerce, agriculture, etc. Single divisions of the work can be obtained separately.

Mr. W. H. Tillinghast has rendered a service to historical students in adding to his translation of Ploetz's *Epitome of Modern History* (Boston, Houghton) an appendix of 34 pages covering the period 1883-1903. The work of compilation has been mainly performed by Mr. D. M. Matteson, who has also had general supervision of the new issue. Cross-references to the appendix have been inserted in the earlier portion of the work, and the genealogical tables have been brought down to date.

In his forthcoming work entitled *A History of Modern Liberty*, Dr. J. MacKinnon will treat of the development of political, intellectual and religious liberty from the Middle Ages down to recent times. The first two volumes, which are about to be published by Messrs. Longman, bring the subject down to the age of the Reformation.

*Modern Constitutions in Outline*, by Leonard Alston (Longmans, 1905, pp. viii, 72), may be of some service to the reader who wishes to get a little knowledge of a big subject in a short time and with little effort: it is a short cut to learning. However, one is astonished in these days to learn that in America the President "is a fossilized George III.", that the really important personage is chosen to act as Vice-president, and that in consequence much valuable political talent is "shelved" for four years.

Of interest to historians as well as to educators is Dr. E. Parisot's dissertation, *Un Educateur mystique: Jean-Frédéric Oberlin (1740-1826)* (Paris, Paulin, pp. 324). The work is based in part on un-

published documents and treats of the influences that affected Oberlin as well as of his pedagogical ideas.

In a *Handbuch für Lehrer höherer Schulen* (Leipzig, Teubner, 2 vols., pp. c, 688) the following matters are considered in connection with various branches of learning: the historical development of methods of teaching; the methods now employed in the most important countries; some account of the text-books and periodicals with which the teacher should be familiar. The section devoted to history is by Dr. A. Auler of Dortmund.

The following handbooks are of interest to teachers: *A Bibliography of Text-Books and Works of Reference in Ancient, Medieval and Modern, English and American History* (Recommended for use in the Approved High Schools of Missouri), edited by Professor N. M. Trenholme (University of Missouri, pp. 27); a revised edition of Professors H. D. Foster and S. B. Fay's *Syllabus of European History from the German Invasions to the French Revolution* (Sold at Dartmouth College Book Store, Hanover, pp. 31); *Syllabus of Continental European History from the Fall of Rome to 1870*, by Professor O. H. Richardson in collaboration with Dr. G. S. Ford and Mr. E. L. Durfee (Ginn, pp. 84); a revised and enlarged edition of Mr. H. C. Bowen's *Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Novels and Tales* (London, E. Stauford); and by the Department of History in the University of Wisconsin, a pamphlet (22 pp.) containing lists of reference-books desirable for high-school libraries.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Creighton and Stubbs* (The Church Quarterly Review, October); G. Lanson, *La Formation de la Méthode Historique de Michelet* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October, also in English in The International Quarterly, April); G. Stanley Hall, *The Pedagogy of History* (The Pedagogical Seminary, September); Thomas Dent, *Of Law Reports as Memorials of History and Biography* (American Law Review, September-October); E. Maunde Thompson, *The Creation of the British Museum* (Cornhill Magazine, November); C. H. K. Marten, *The Study of History in Public Schools* (The Nineteenth Century and After, October).

#### ANCIENT HISTORY.

The *Société Préhistorique de France*, which was founded last year, is about to publish an illustrated *Manuel de Recherches Préhistoriques*, dealing with the general and special technique of the subject and including an index of terms (Paris, C. Reinwald-Schleicher).

Two recent contributions to Egyptology are *A History of Egypt* (Scribners) by Professor J. H. Breasted, director of the Egyptian expedition of the University of Chicago, and *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (Putnam's), containing lectures delivered by Professor Georg Steindorff under the auspices of the American Committee for lectures on the history of religions.

Among the publications of the École Pratique des Hautes Études for 1904 (Paris, Bouillon), is a work by V. Chapot on *La Province Romaine Proconsulaire d'Asie depuis ses Origines jusqu'à la fin du Haut-Empire*.

M. Gaston Boissier, of the French Academy, the well-known author of *Cicero and his Friends*, has written a volume on *La Conjuration de Catilina* (Paris, Hachette).

The excellent handbook by Mrs. E. Burton-Brown entitled *Recent Excavations in the Roman Forum, 1898-1905*, has been issued in a new and cheaper edition (2s.) by Mr. John Murray.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Erhardt, *Die Einwanderung der Germanen in Deutschland und die Ursitze der Indogermanen* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, October); J. Halévy, *La Légende de la Reine de Saba* (Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1905); M. Clerc, *La Prise de Phocée par les Perses et ses Conséquences* (Revue des Études Grecques, April-June); J. Wellhausen, *Ueber den geschichtlichen Wert des zweiten Makkabäerbuchs, im Verhältniss zum Ersten* (Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1905, II.); H. de la Ville de Mirmont, *Théophraste de Mitylène* (Revue des Études Grecques, April-June).

#### EARLY CHURCH HISTORY.

The work of Mr. Rendel Harris on *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (Cambridge, 1903), and the replies that it evoked have recently drawn attention to S. Dioscorus, the martyr of Egypt, of whom, however, very little has been known. In the *Analecta Bollandiana*, tom. XXIV., fasc. 3, Father H. Quentin prints two recently discovered accounts of the passion of the saint.

The *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebius has been published in the original Greek and with a French translation in the series of Texts and Documents for the Historical Study of Christianity published by Picard, Paris (pp. viii, 524).

*The Apple of Discord, or Temporal Power in the Catholic Church*, by a Roman Catholic, has been recently published by The Apple of Discord Company, Buffalo. The author believes that "most of the misfortunes which have befallen the Catholic Church in recent centuries, originated in her temporal power".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Allard, *L'Expansion du Christianisme à l'Époque des Persécutions* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); E. Schwartz, *Zur Geschichte des Athanasius*, con., (Nachrichten von der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1905, II.).

#### MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

The dissertation of Dr. James T. Shotwell, *A Study in the History of the Eucharist* (London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, pp. 81) is "part of a



larger survey which has been undertaken with the aim of presenting the history of the sacraments in their practical bearings upon medieval society." The dissertation deals only with the early history of the institution, which is discussed in an exceptionally interesting and suggestive manner.

Professor G. Kurth, the learned Belgian historian, has written a work on *Notger de Liège et la Civilisation au dixième siècle* (Paris, Picard, two vols., pp. 391, 88). The appendix contains a new edition of the *Vita Notgeri*.

In his paper on *The Sources for the History of the Papal Penitentiary* (reprinted from the *American Journal of Theology*, July, 1905, pp. 29) Professor C. H. Haskins shows what manuscript and printed material is available for the study of the penitentiary and what subjects await investigation in that greatly neglected field.

The second number in the Historical Series of the Publications of the University of Manchester, entitled *Initia Operum Latinorum quae Saeculis XIII., XIV., XV. attribuntur secundum ordinem Alphabeti disposita*, and edited by Mr. A. G. Little, contains about 6000 incipits followed by references to the sources from which they have been taken. The handbook makes no claim to completeness but will aid librarians and others in determining the authorship of anonymous manuscripts.

Professor Vida D. Scudder of Wellesley College has helped students to a better acquaintance with one of the most interesting characters of the medieval period, by translating and editing with introductory and explanatory matter some significant letters of St. Catherine of Siena. Her book is entitled *St. Catherine of Siena as seen in her Letters*, and is published by Dutton.

A detailed account of the Council of Basle and a full discussion of the failure of the conciliar idea will be found in the work by M. G. Perouse, *Louis Aleman et la Fin du Grande Schisme* (Paris, Picard). The book is well documented.

The application of the methods of historical criticism to legendary material appears to be the main theme of Father H. Delehaye's book, *Les Légendes Hagiographiques* (Brussels, Société des Bollandistes, pp. xi, 264). The growth of the legend is discussed, and a systematic grouping of legendary motifs attempted.

Mr. Guy Le Strange adds a new volume to the Cambridge Geographical Series in his book entitled *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Central Asia from the Moslem Conquest to the Time of Timur* (Macmillan, pp. xviii, 536, with 10 maps). It contains much information of value to the student of civilization.

Documentary publications: J. Delaville le Roulx, *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem (1100-1310)*, 4 vols., Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Grand Prix Gobert; Antonio de Beatiss, *Die Reise des Kardinals Luigi d'Aragona durch*

*Deutschland, die Niederlande, Frankreich und Oberitalien, 1517-1518, beschrieben* (Erläuterungen und Ergänzungen zu Janssens Geschichte des deutschen Volkes, edited by L. Pastor, Vol. IV., pp. xii, 186).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Vacandard, *La Confession dans l'Eglise latine du Ve. au XIIIe siècle* (Revue du Clergé Français, October 15); M. Vacs, *La Papauté et l'Eglise Franque à l'Epoque de Grégoire le Grand* (590-604), concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); R. Poupardin, *L'Onction Impériale* [Carolingian period] (Le Moyen Age, May-June); A. Struck, *Die Eroberung Thessalonikcs durch die Sarazenen im Jahre 904* (Byzantinische Zeitschrift, August); K. Hampe, *Eine Schilderung des Sommeraufenthaltes der Römischen Kurie unter Innozenz III. in Subiaco 1202* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, October); R. H. Tierney, *The Religious Element in the Mediaeval Guilds* (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October).

#### MODERN HISTORY.

The four large index volumes to Clunet's *Journal du Droit International Privé* (Paris, Marchal and Billard) contain a great deal of material that will be of interest to the worker in diplomatic history. Apart from references to matter contained in the *Journal* itself, Volume I. includes a systematic bibliography of international private law (182 pp.), including a full bibliography of collections of treaties, while Volume II. gives the text of many treaties, most of them subsequent to 1845, and a table of treaties from 1631 to 1903 to which France has been a party (564 pp.).

The point of departure in M. Jules Sottas's *Histoire de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales, 1664-1719* (Paris, Plon, 1904, pp. 496), is the account of Du Quesne's expedition to the Indies in 1690-1691 by Grégoire de Chasles. In connection with the republication of this account M. Sottas has given a detailed exposition of the operations of the company up to its fusion with the great *Compagnie des Indes*.

Mr. John Murray announces the publication of two volumes of *The History of the Papacy in the Nineteenth Century* by Dr. Fredrik Nielsen, formerly professor of ecclesiastical history in the University of Copenhagen, and translated by Dr. A. J. Mason, Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. They treat of the external fortunes of the church down to the death of Pius IX. A third volume covering the period to the end of the reign of Leo XIII. is in course of preparation and this it is hoped will also be translated. The translated volumes form part of a larger Danish work treating of the general history of the Roman Catholic Church during the nineteenth century, including its inner life.

Coquelle's *Napoléon et l'Angleterre*, which was noticed in a recent number of the REVIEW (X. 692), has been translated by Gordon D. Knox and published by Bell and Sons, London, with an introduction by J. Holland Rose.

In the preparation of his book entitled *Le Pape et l'Empereur* (Paris, Plon), M. Henri Welschinger has had access to the public archives of France which the government of Napoleon III. denied to the Orleanist Comte de Haussonville when he was investigating the same theme.

The large work by M. Ch. Auriol entitled *La France, l'Angleterre et Naples de 1803 à 1806* (Paris, Plon, 2 vols., pp. vi, 683, 834) is in great part of collection of documents, some of which, *e. g.* the despatches of Hugh Elliot, the English minister at Naples, have not been previously published.

The Macmillan Company will issue an édition de luxe, uniform with their Hakluyt and Purchas, of the famous seventeenth-century account of Japan by the Dutch doctor Engelbert Kaempfer.

Documentary publications: Comte Boulay de la Meurthe, *Documents sur la Négociation du Concordat et sur les autres rapports de la France avec le Saint-Siège de 1800 à 1801*, Vol. VI., Publications de la Société d'Histoire Diplomatique (Paris, Plon); Comte de Jaucourt, *Correspondance du Comte de Jaucourt avec le Prince de Talleyrand pendant le Congrès de Vienne*, Publications de la Société d'Histoire Diplomatique [with Introduction and Life] (Paris, Plon, pp. 361).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Paul Kalkoff, *Forschungen zu Luthers römischen Prozess*, pp. 212 (Bibliothek des k. preussischen historischen Instituts in Rom); W. H. Hutton, *Erasmus and the Reformation* (Quarterly Review, October); F. Lennel, *Le Siège de Calais par les Espagnols* (Annales de l'Est et du Nord, October); E. P. Cheyney, *International Law under Queen Elizabeth* (English Historical Review, October); L. Willaert, *Négociations politico-religieuses entre l'Angleterre et les Pays-Bas catholiques, 1598-1635*, con. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); Mme. C.-B. Favre, *La Diplomatie de Leibniz* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, October); E. Rod, *Jean Jacques Rousseau et les Affaires de Genève: La Condamnation* (Revue Historique, September-October); E. Driault, *Napoléon I. et l'Italie*, II., III.: *Bonaparte et la République Italienne, Napoléon Roi d'Italie*, concl. (Revue Historique, September-October, November-December); *Naples and Napoleon* (Edinburgh Review, October).

#### GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

Sir Benjamin Stone, President of the National Photographic Record Association, has formed a collection of 25,000 photographs illustrative of national life, which will be of great value to future historians. Selections from the Parliamentary, State Ceremony, and Popular Custom pictures are announced for immediate publication by Messrs. Cassell.

*The Royal Forests of England*, by Dr. J. C. Cox, has been added to the series of "Antiquary's Books" issued by Methuen (pp. 388).

*The Ancrén Riwle, or Nun's Rule*, as modernized by Rev. James Morton in a volume of the Camden Society, 1853, has been reproduced

by the De La More Press with a few alterations and with an introduction by Abbot Gasquet.

In his study of the *Wives of Henry the Eighth and the Parts they played in History*, Major Martin A. S. Hume has endeavored to show how each of the queens "was but an instrument of politicians intended to sway the King on one side or the other". The book is published in America by McClure, Phillips, and Company. (pp. 467).

The August number of the *Hartford Seminary Record* is made up of articles on John Knox: "The Times of John Knox", by Professor C. M. Andrews; "The Life of John Knox", by Professor C. M. Geer; "John Knox's Contribution to America", by Professor Samuel Simpson; and "John Knox; His Religious Life and Theological Position", by Professor James Denney.

A new edition of H. E. Egerton's *History of British Colonial Policy* is announced by Methuen.

*Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, Plates xxi-xxx, printed by order of the Trustees of the British Museum (Longmans), contains illustrations of 160 medals dealing with the reign of Charles I. from 1630 to his execution. They throw light on the history of the reign and form a portrait gallery of the most important men of the day.

In the *King in Exile* (New York, Dutton), Miss Eva Scott covers the period of the wanderings of Charles II. from June, 1646, to July, 1654.

Mr. Martin Haile's *Mary of Modena, Queen of James II.* (New York, Dutton, pp. 523), contains a number of documents such as the queen's letters and despatches and letters of her contemporaries which have never before been printed in English.

A *Memoir of Archbishop Temple*, by Seven Friends, edited in two volumes by Archdeacon Sandford, is announced by Messrs. Macmillan.

Sir Horace Rumbold's *Final Recollections of a Diplomatist* (New York, Longmans, pp. 408) constitutes the fourth volume of his reminiscences and covers the period from 1885 to his retirement from the diplomatic service in 1900. Between these years he served as minister to Greece, to the Netherlands and to Austria.

Mr. W. A. Copinger, sometime President of the Bibliographical Society, has compiled a remarkable work, the nature of which is indicated by its title: *County of Suffolk. Its History as Disclosed by Existing Records and other Documents, being materials for the History of Suffolk, Gleaned from Various Sources—mainly from MSS., Charters, and Rolls in the British Museum and other Public and Private Depositories, and from the State Papers and the Publications of the Record Commissioners, the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, and of the Master of the Rolls.* In five substantial volumes, to which a volume of indexes is to be added, the promise of the title appears to be most admirably fulfilled. The material is arranged alphabetically under names of places, families, and, to some extent, subjects.

In his work on *Worcestershire Place Names* (Oxford, Frowde) Mr. W. H. Duignan has received the assistance of Professor Skeat and Mr. W. H. Stevenson. The preface contains a summary of the early history of the county.

The articles relative to London contained in the *Gentleman's Magazine* have been brought together by G. Laurence Gomme into three volumes entitled *The Gentleman's Magazine Library: London* (London, Stock).

The first number in the Economic Series of the Publications of the University of Manchester, *The Lancashire Cotton Industry, a Study in Economic Development*, by Professor S. J. Chapman (1904, pp. vii, 309), describes and explains the different forms of organization that have characterized production and distribution in the cotton industry from the establishment of the industry in Lancashire to modern times.

Messrs. Bell announce the publication in one small volume of Leland's *Itinerary in Wales* edited by Miss Lucy Toulmin Smith. A new edition of the whole *Itinerary* is to be issued later.

Professor C. Sanford Terry, one of whose numerous contributions to Scottish history is reviewed in the current number of the REVIEW, is the author of *The Scottish Parliament: Its Constitution and Procedure, 1603-1707*, recently published by Messrs. MacLehose. The book contains an appendix of documents.

In his book entitled *The Ruthven of Freeland Peerage and its Critics* (Glasgow, MacLehose, pp. 84), Mr. J. H. Stevenson argues that Mr. J. H. Round has not successfully demonstrated, in Mr. Foster's *Collectanea Genealogica* and elsewhere, that the peerage of Ruthven of Freeland is extinct.

Although by an Act of 1875 the parish registers of the former Established Church in Ireland were placed under the control of the Master of the Rolls of Ireland, yet a large proportion of the Registers were not deposited in the Public Record Office at Dublin. "The Parish Register Society of Dublin" has recently been organized "to supply the genealogist and local and family historian with printed copies of the more important and older surviving Registers, beginning with those of Dublin, more especially those not deposited in the Record Office".

Professor Goldwin Smith's *Irish History and the Irish Movement* (McClure) is "an attempt to trace the general course of the history [of Ireland] as it leads up to the present situation."

A. M. S. Methuen's *Peace or War in South Africa*, first published in 1901, is to be reissued under the title *The Tragedy of South Africa* with additions which make the book a complete narrative of the events of the years 1899-1902.

Mr. John Murray announces the publication of the second volume of *The German Official Account of the War in South Africa, prepared in the Historical Section of the Great General Staff, Berlin*. The volume

deals with the advance to Pretoria, the Upper Tugela campaign, etc., and is translated by Colonel H. Du Cane.

George W. Stow's *The Native Races of South Africa, a History of the Intrusion of the Hottentots and Bantu into the Hunting-grounds of the Bushmen, the Aborigines of the Country*, edited by George McCall Theal (Sonnenschein), is said to be the most valuable work upon the natives of Africa that has appeared.

British Government publications: *Calendar of the Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III.*, 1231-1234; *Year Books of the Reign of King Edward the Third*, years xviii and xix, edited and translated by L. O. Pike; *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, 1401-1405; *Calendar of Treasury Books*, 1667-1668; *Manuscripts of the House of Lords*, 1697-1699; *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland*, 1660-1662; and reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission on the manuscripts of Lady du Cave, the Earl of Egmont (Vol. I., Parts 1 and 2, with an introduction on the Irish Percivalls), and on manuscripts in the Welsh language (Vol. II., Part 3).

Other documentary publications: *Great Roll of the Pipe for the twenty-third year of the Reign of King Henry the Second*, A. D. 1176-1177, The Pipe Roll Society (London, Spottiswoode); J. M. Rigg, *A Calendar of the Plea Rolls of the Exchequer of the Jews*, preserved in the Public Record Office, Vol. I., Henry III., 1218-1272, pp. xix, 366, Jewish Historical Society of England (Macmillan); F. H. M. Parker, *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmoreland*, 1222-1260 (Kendal, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society); J. Parker, *A Calendar of the Lancashire Assize Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, 2 parts (London, The Record Society); H. B. Walker, *The Book of the Cinque Ports*, an index volume to the Decrees of the courts of Brotherhood and Guestling of the Cinque Ports from 1433 to the present time [Decrees are entered in epitome] (London, Stock); J. Herkless and R. K. Hannay, editors, *The College of St. Leonard*, being Documents with Translations, Notes, and Historical Introduction.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. E. Ross, *Henry III. and the Church* (Dublin Review, October); L. Mirot, *Isabelle de France, Reine d'Angleterre*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, October); W. T. Waugh, *Sir John Oldcastle*, II. (English Historical Review, October); L. Willaert, S. J., *A Catholic College of the Seventeenth Century* [St. Omer] (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October); L. H. Berens, *A Social Reformer of the Days of the Commonwealth* [Gerrard Winstanley] (The Westminster Review, September); Lady Burghclere, *A Courtier of James the Second* (Quarterly Review, October); Mr. Trevelyan's "Stuarts" (Edinburgh Review, October); D. Hannay, *Nelson the Civilizer* (Macmillan's Magazine, November); J. K. Laugh-ton, *The Centenary of Trafalgar* (Quarterly Review, October); Sir Cyprian Bridge, *Nelson: The Centenary of Trafalgar* (Cornhill Maga-

zine, September): J. Holland Rose, *The True Significance of Trafalgar* (Independent Review, November); A. T. Mahan, *The Strength of Nelson* (The National Review, November); A. T. Mahan, *The Personality of Nelson* (United Service Magazine, October); Col. G. H. Trevor, *A Chapter of the Indian Mutiny: Rajputana* (Gentleman's Magazine, September); Lord Granville (Edinburgh Review, October); Sir Rowland Blennerhassett, *The Threatened War of 1875* (National Review, November); Rev. Albert Barry, *Gladstone and Ireland* (New Ireland Review, November).

#### FRANCE.

At the international exposition which took place at Liège last June, there was held a series of conferences relative to various phases of the history of the French Revolution, in which M. Aulard and other distinguished historians took part. *La Révolution Française* for October contains a report (24 pp.) of these conferences.

The notable work undertaken by the Ministry of Public Instruction at the instance of M. Jaurès, in collecting and publishing archive material relating to the economic history of the French Revolution, is being carried on vigorously throughout France. In each department committees have been appointed to undertake the listing of documents found in the local archives and to direct the work of publication. The *Annales de Bretagne* for July prints the text of the circular which one departmental committee has addressed to collaborators, indicating the classes of archives and of documents most likely to prove fruitful. *La Révolution Française* for September and *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* for October contain accounts of the progress made in several departments. A number of volumes in the series relating to the parochial cahiers of 1789 have been published or are nearly ready for publication and the same is true of the *procès-verbaux* of the committee of agriculture and commerce of the Constituent Assembly and of the main documents of its committee on feudal rights.

The annual for 1905 of the École Pratique des Hautes Études states that the following publications are about to be added to its list: L. Gautier, *Les Lombards dans les deux Bourgognes*; Lasalle-Serbat, *Les Assemblées du Clergé de France (1561-1615)* (Paris, Bouillon).

In the "Bulletin" of the *Revue Historique* for September, M. Ch. Pfister discusses a few recent publications relating to the history of medieval France, and M. Rod Reuss reviews a large number of recent works dealing with the Revolution and the First Empire.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett's book on *Famous French Women* treats of Joan of Arc, Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, daughter of Louis XII., Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I., Margaret of Angoulême, sister of Francis I., and Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of Navarre. It will be published in this country by A. Wessels Company.

The Stanhope Essay for 1905 bears the title of *The Fronde*. The author is G. Stuart Gordon (London, Simpkin).



A translation of a work by Arvède Barine is announced by the Putnam's under the title *Louis XIV. and La Grande Mademoiselle*.

The *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France depuis 1789*, which has been under preparation for several years, is nearly ready for the press. It will appear under the auspices of the Société d'Histoire Moderne (Paris, Cornély).

The house of Hachette has decided that the *Histoire de France*, edited by M. E. Lavisse, which was originally intended to stop at the year 1789, shall be continued to the present time in seven additional volumes. The first volume, in which M. P. Sagnac will treat of the Constituent Assembly, 1789-1791, will not be issued till 1908, when it is expected that the history up to 1789 will have been published.

M. Funck-Brentano has written an introduction (100 pp.) to the eighteen letters included in the volume entitled *Joliclerc, Volontaire aux Armées de la Révolution: Ses Lettres (1793-1796)*, collected and published by Étienne Joliclerc (Paris, Perrin).

The forthcoming ninth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* is entitled *Napoleon* (Cambridge University Press).

The sixth volume of the *Histoire Socialiste* published under the direction of M. Jaurès and written by MM. Brousse and Turot deals with the Consulate and Empire, 1799 to 1815, and contains fresh information concerning the economic and social history of that period (Paris, J. Rouff).

*The Battle of Wavre and Grouchy's Retreat*, a study of an obscure part of the Waterloo Campaign, by W. Hyde Kelly (London, Murray), contains a sketch of the opening and progress of the Waterloo campaign, the pursuit of the Prussians by Grouchy and an explanation of the way in which he extricated his forcés and led them back to Paris.

The third and last volume of M. Henry Houssaye's important work entitled *1815* has recently been published (Paris, Perrin, pp. 602).

The important work *Histoire du Second Empire* (Paris, Plon) by Pierre de la Gorce has been completed by the issue of the seventh volume, which brings the narrative down to the proclamation of the Third Republic. The work has been crowned by the French Academy.

Dr. E. A. Crane has edited the memoirs of Dr. Thomas W. Evans, who was court dentist to Napoleon III. and under whose escort the Empress Eugénie escaped to England. The book has been published by Appleton.

Two books of historical interest written by eye-witnesses of the events they describe are Comte d'Haussonville's *Mon Journal pendant la Guerre, 1870-1871* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy); and Le Vicomte de Meaux's *Souvenirs Politiques, 1871-1877* (Paris, Plon, pp. 419).

Workers in the field of French local history will find an important bibliographical aid in the *Inventaire des Collections Manuscrites de la Bibliothèque Nationale sur l'Histoire des Provinces de France* by P.

Lauer. Vol. I. (Paris, Leroux, pp. 31, 504) is devoted to Burgundy and Lorraine.

*La Franche Comté* by Lucien Febvre is the fourth number in the series "Les Régions de la France", published by the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* (Paris, Cerf, 1905, pp. 76). The monograph contains abundant bibliographical information, sums up briefly what is known regarding the district and indicates the important *lacunae* to be filled.

The seventh volume of M. A. Tuetey's *Répertoire des Sources Manuscrites de l'Histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution Française* (Ville de Paris, Publications relatives à la Révolution Française, Imp. Nouvelle), brings the catalogue down to the end of the period of the Legislative Assembly. The municipal council of Paris has voted the continuation of the *Répertoire* for the period of the Convention.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Poète, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de Paris et les Historiens de Paris* (Revue Politique et Littéraire, November 18); Dom A. du Bourg, *Vie Monastique dans l'Abbaye de Saint-Germain des Prés aux différentes périodes de son histoire* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); K. Müller, *Calvin's Bekchrung* (Nachrichten von der k. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen, 1905, II.); L. Batiffol, *Marie de Médicis* (Revue Historique, November-December); P. Bliard, *Deux Épisodes de la Vie de Louis XV. d'après un journal inédit* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); H. de Grimoïard, *Les Bureaux des Finances de l'Ancien Régime* (Revue de Science et de Législation Financières, July-September); A. Onou, *La Valeur des Cahiers de 1789 au point de vue Économique et Social* (La Révolution Française, November); M. Kovalevsky, *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution*, I. (Revue Internationale de Sociologie, August-September) [the first chapter of a book which will appear under this title in the Bibliothèque Sociologique Internationale]; V. Pierre, *Le Clergé de France en Exil: Pays-Bas Autrichiens, Liège, Trèves et Luxembourg, Hollande, 1791 à 1794 et 1795* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); A. Lieby, *L'Ancien Répertoire sur les Théâtres de Paris à travers la Réaction thermidorienne*, concl. (La Révolution Française, September); A. Aulard, *Les Origines de la Séparation des Églises et de l'État: L'Assemblée Législative; La Laïcisation de l'État civil; La Convention nationale* (La Révolution Française, September, October, November); F. J. Stimson, ed., *The Coup d'État of Louis Napoleon* [a contemporary letter] (Scribner's Magazine, October); H. Prentout, *Le Travail d'Histoire Moderne en Province: La Normandie, année 1904* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, October).

#### ITALY AND SPAIN.

The publication of a historical quarterly devoted to matters relating to the "Risorgimento" in Umbria from 1796 to 1870 has been undertaken by G. Mazzatinti, G. Degli Azzi and A. Fani. The journal

will contain documents, catalogues of archives and museums, and bibliographical notes, but not articles.

In the *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, N. S., Vol. IX., Part 1, the bibliographical bulletin of the Venetian region [1902] is concluded; and in the succeeding number of the journal, a similar bulletin for 1903 is begun. In both numbers, C. Cipolla continues his survey of the publications regarding medieval Italian history for 1901.

A new work in two volumes by F. Marion Crawford, *Salve Venetia! Gleanings from History*, is announced for immediate publication by Macmillan. It will be uniform with his *Ave Roma Immortalis* and *Rulers of the South*, the second of which is to be reissued under the title of *Sicily and Southern Italy*.

Professor Heinrich Sieveking of the University of Marburg has received a grant from the Vienna Royal Academy of Sciences for the promotion of his researches into the medieval records of business and commerce in Italian archives. A recent number of the Proceedings of the Academy contains his report on the *Handlungsbücher der Medici* found by him in Florence. The report is also published separately by C. Gerold's Son, Vienna.

Professor Quinto Sàntoli will edit for the Società Pistoiese di Storia Patria the cartulary known as the *Liber Censuum Communis Pistorii*, which, containing more than 900 documents dating from 1097 to about 1450, is not only the principal source for the history of Pistoia during that period, but also throws light on the history of neighboring communities and of the Empire and the Church.

An illustrated dictionary of the Sicilian communes, including historical and archaeological matter, is being published under the direction of Francesco Nicotra with the assistance of distinguished collaborators and of the Sicilian municipalities (Palermo, Casa Professa, via Rimpetto).

Two studies in Spanish historiography by Georges Cirot are *Les Histoires générales d'Espagne entre Alphonse X. et Philippe II.*, 1284-1565 (Paris, Fontemoing, pp. xi, 181) and *Mariana Historien* (Bordeaux, Feret).

Dr. Hans Gmelin's *Studien zur spanischen Verfassungsgeschichte des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, F. Enke) contains a considerable amount of political as well as of constitutional history and much bibliographical information.

Documentary publications: *Regesta Chartarum Italiae*; I. *Regesto di Camaldoli*; II. *Regesten von Volterra*, Quellen und Forschungen aus Italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken herausgegeben von dem k. Preussischen Historischen Institut in Rom (Rome, Loescher); G. Chiesa, *Regesto dell'Archivio Comunale della Città di Rovereto*, Fasc. 1, 1280-1450 (Rovereto, Imp. Roveretana, vii, 75).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Tocco, *I Fraticelli* [xiii. and xiv. centuries] (*Archivio Storico Italiano*, serie v. t. XXXV., 1905, 2); E. Rodocanachi, *L'Éducation des Femmes en Italie* [xiv.-xviii. cent.] (*Revue des Questions Historiques*, October); C. Lagonaggiore, *L' "Istoria Viniziana" di M. Pietro Bembo, saggio critico con documenti inediti* (*Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n. s., Vol. IX., Pts. 1 and 2); Konrad Häbler, *Zur Geschichte der Kastilischen Comunidades, 1520-1521* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, XCV. 3); *The Execution of General Torrijos and Robert Boyd, 1831* (*English Historical Review*, October).

#### GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND SWITZERLAND.

Professor G. von Below of Tübingen, well-known for his valuable contributions to the constitutional history of Germany, has contributed a work on *Die Ursachen der Rezeption des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland* to the *Historische Bibliothek* which is directed by the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift* (Munich, Oldenbourg).

M. Albert Waddington of the University of Lyons treats of the rise of the Prussian power in his book entitled *Le Grand Électeur Frédéric Guillaume de Brandebourg: Sa politique extérieure, 1640-1688* (Paris, Plon, pp. 496).

A new volume has been added to the beautifully illustrated series of *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte* in Professor Zwiedineck-Südenhorst's *Maria Theresia* (Bielefeld, Velhagen and Klasing, pp. 111).

We have recently received the report of the fourteenth session of the Commission for Württemberg History. During 1904, the Commission added three volumes to its series of historical sources, the titles of which are noted below among "documents". The publications planned for 1905 include part of a collection of historical songs and sayings; a volume of *Württembergische Landtagsakten*; an additional volume of the letters of Christopher, the Lutheran Duke of Württemberg, 1555, *seqq.*; an edition of the German works of the Swabian mystic Heinrich Suso, etc.

The historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for September-October gives an account of monographic literature of the last few years relating to the history of Bohemia up to 1300. Monographs dealing with a later period will be noticed in a following number of the journal.

The historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for November-December reviews the works published since 1884 dealing with the source-material for the medieval history of Switzerland.

The Vienna Academy of Sciences has made a grant to Professor J. Loserth of the University of Graz, to be used in the investigation of the archives of Hungary and Croatia essential to the editing of the second part of the *Akten und Korrespondenzen zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Inner-Österreich unter Ferdinand II.*

Documentary publications: R. Esallner, *Quellenbuch zur vaterländischen Geschichte* (Hermannstadt, Kraft, pp. 296); W. Levison, *Vitae*

*Sancti Bonifatii, Archiepiscopi Moguntini*, *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* (Hanover, Hahn, lxxxvi, 241); Dr. Knupfer, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Heilbronn*, I. (pp. xiv, 681), Württembergische Kommission für Landesgeschichte; Dr. A. Diehl, *Urkundenbuch der Stadt Esslingen*, II. (pp. xxvii, 305), ditto; C. Mollwo, *Das Rote Buch der Stadt Ulm* (pp. vii, 304), ditto; A. Reifferscheid's *Neun Texte zur Geschichte der religiösen Aufklärung in Deutschland während des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Festschrift der Universität Greifswald, pp. 58); F. Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen*, I. 1517-1524, *Schriften der Königlichen Sächsischen Kommission für Geschichte*, LXXXVIII. (pp. 848, Teubner); J. Strieder, *Die Inventur der Firma Fugger aus dem Jahre 1527*, *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, Ergänzungsheft XVII. (Tübingen, Laupp).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Ulmann, *Die Anklage des Jakobinismus in Preussen im Jahre 1815* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, XCV. 3); P. Matter, *La Prusse et la Révolution de Pologne en 1863* (*Annales des Sciences Politiques*, September); Paul Vinogradoff, *A Constitutional History of Hungary*, review of Akos v. Timon's *Ungarische Verfassungs- und Rechtsgeschichte* (*The Law Quarterly Review*, October); P. Pégard, *La Mission du Citoyen Comeyras dans les Lignes Grises*, 1796-1797, I. (*Annales des Sciences Politiques*, September.)

#### NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.

R. Van Waefelghem's *Analectes de l'Ordre de Prémontré* (Brussels, Misch and Thron, pp. 440) contains an inventory of the archives of the abbey of Parc and of other abbeys, and chartularies, accounts, rentals, etc.

L. Gilliodts van Severen in his *Cartulaire de l'ancienne Estaple de Bruges* (Bruges, De Plancke, 1904-1905, I., II., pp. 747, 744) has made a collection of documents concerning the domestic and foreign commerce, international relations, and economic history of Bruges.

#### AMERICA.

##### GENERAL ITEMS.

The series entitled *Original Narratives of Early American History*, undertaken under the auspices of the American Historical Association and under the general editorship of Mr. J. F. Jameson, will consist of twenty volumes, with an added volume of general index, and will be published by Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons. It is expected that the first two volumes will appear in the spring of the present year. The first will be devoted to the voyages of the Northmen and of Columbus. The first section, edited by Professor Julius E. Olson, will present the saga in Hauksbok and that in Flateyjarbok, together with some minor Northern and papal pieces. The second section will comprise, besides some smaller documents, Columbus's journal of his first voyage, his letter to Santangel, that of Dr. Chanca, the journal of the third voyage imbedded in

Las Casas, the letter to the Nurse, and the letter to the sovereigns respecting the fourth voyage,—all edited by Professor E. G. Bourne. The three contemporary letters on Cabot's voyage will be added. Volume II., narratives of the Spanish Explorers, will comprise those of Cabeza de Vaca, the Gentleman of Elvas, and Castañeda (for Coronado), the first and third edited by Mr. F. W. Hodge of the Bureau of American Ethnology, the second by Mr. T. H. Lewis of St. Paul.

The Historical Congress held in connection with the Lewis and Clark Exposition at Portland met in three sessions on September 21, 22 and 23. At the first session a paper on "The Unity of History" was read by Hon. H. W. Scott, editor of the *Morning Oregonian*, which was followed by a paper by Professor E. G. Bourne, who discussed some of the salient facts in Oregon history prior to 1840. Dr. James K. Hosmer reviewed the points of significance in the explorations of Lewis and Clark, indicating the distinctive character of the two among American explorers. The sessions of the second day were devoted to conferences on the organization and development of historical activities on the Pacific coast. Reports were made by representatives of the different states and sections, and a good basis for future co-operation was laid. The session of the third day was held under the auspices of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association. Two formal papers were read, one by Professor Joseph Schafer on "The Location of the Sources of the History of the Pacific Northwest", the other by Professor C. A. Duniway on "Slavery in California before 1863". The writer showed that slaves had been held in the state notwithstanding its constitution and that a severe code of "black laws" had obtained.

The annual report of the Librarian of Congress will be read with more than ordinary interest this year by historical students. The manuscript accessions to the library have been unusually large, varied, and important. Among them should be noted the Breckinridge papers, presented by the children of the late Hon. W. C. P. Breckinridge of Kentucky, who made an especial effort during his lifetime to collect his family papers. There are fully thirty thousand pieces in the collection, which includes the papers of John Breckinridge (1760-1806), his two sons, John (1797-1841) and Robert (1800-1871), and of W. C. P. Breckinridge (1837-1905). Through the generosity of Dr. Stuyvesant Fish Morris an addition has been made to the Van Buren collection of over 850 letters, written to Van Buren when he was Secretary of State, Vice-President, and President. Ten volumes of the correspondence of E. G. Squier, the archaeologist, have also been received, as have fifteen letters from Andrew Johnson to B. McDannel, and about 150 family letters written by George Denison during his life in Texas and Louisiana before and during the war. Among the purchases of manuscripts the papers of John J. Crittenden of Kentucky are of note, likewise the papers of Duncan McArthur and William Allen of Ohio. A collection of about twelve hundred manuscripts and broadsides of Virginian origin has been

purchased, as have the remnants of the papers of Franklin Pierce (the larger part of his papers were destroyed by fire), the correspondence, in twelve volumes, of E. B. O'Callaghan, and a unique set of nine manuscript volumes that had belonged to Charles Pinfold, Governor of Barbados from 1756 to 1766, including letter-books and transcripts of legislative journals and laws. Finally should be mentioned the Spanish records transferred to the library from the office of the surveyor-general in Tallahassee, Florida, and five volumes of transcripts from the English archives. These last are worthy of particular attention because they mark the inauguration by the library of a plan for securing transcripts of large portions of the American material in foreign archives. An important acquisition by the Division of Maps and Charts is the collection of 72 maps formed by Lord Howe, illustrating the American coast, the West Indies, and the Philippines. Seven of these, in manuscript, have to do with the Revolution.

The H. H. Bancroft library has been purchased by the University of California. Although this collection is well known to students, it is perhaps not generally realized how great its value is. In a printed report by Dr. Thwaites to the University of California it is estimated that the library contains at least 125,000 manuscripts, about 43,000 books and pamphlets, 5,000 volumes of newspapers, periodicals, transactions, and scrap-books, and 2,000 maps, atlases and engravings. The manuscript material consists of original and transcribed mission and presidio records, papers relating to Spanish governmental and commercial affairs in North and Central America, accounts and letter-books of Russian, Canadian, and American fur companies, consular papers, diaries, dictated narratives, and important documents bearing on Spanish rule in Louisiana. Frederick J. Teggert has for the present been appointed custodian of the collection.

Through the generosity of James Speyer, a chair has been established in the University of Berlin to be known as the Theodore Roosevelt Professorship of American History and Institutions. Professor J. W. Burgess will be the first to occupy the new position.

The Library of Congress has published a *List of the Benjamin Franklin Papers*, compiled by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick of the Division of Manuscripts, under the direction of Worthington Chauncey Ford. The papers here listed constitute those of the Franklin collection known as the "second series" and are exclusive of the diplomatic papers, which were retained in the Department of State when the collection was transferred to the Library of Congress. The compilation is termed a "list" rather than a "calendar" because, although each piece of manuscript is regularly entered, only the more important of its contents are noted. The list covers over two hundred pages, the items run in chronological order, and a full index is provided.

By the compilation of the two-volume *Comprehensive Index to the Publications of the United States Government, 1881-1893* (58 Cong., 2



Sess., Ho. Doc. 754) John G. Ames has filled the gap between Poore's Index and the volumes issued by the Superintendent of Documents.

The first two volumes of the *Crown Collection of Photographs of American Maps*, selected by A. B. Hulbert (A. H. Clark Company) have appeared. The first volume contains fifty plates and is devoted to rivers, lakes, waterways, etc. The second volume is made up of military maps and plans.

In an edition of three hundred folio copies, magnificently bound in vellum, Mr. Archer M. Huntington has published the *Catalogue of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus*, a facsimile reproduction of the unique manuscript index or *registrum* in the Biblioteca Colombina, at Seville.

Students of naval history will be interested in the annual report to the Secretary of the Navy, by Mr. Charles W. Stewart, Superintendent of Library and Naval War Records. Captain A. T. Mahan has presented to the library his transcripts of British naval records relating to the War of 1812, while the papers of Flag Officer William Mervine, Rear-Admiral William Reynolds, and Commodore Guert Gansevoort have also been received as gifts, and other collections are promised.

The library of the late Rev. Charles H. Spurgeon of London, said to be especially rich in material relating to the Puritans, has been purchased by William Jewell College, Liberty, Missouri.

A tenth edition, revised, of Professor A. C. McLaughlin's *History of the American Nation* in Appleton's series of Twentieth Century Text-books, has just been published.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company have put out a second revised edition of Judson S. Landon's *The Constitutional History and Government of the United States*. The changes in the edition are but few and of minor importance.

Lippincott and Company are publishing a very handsome edition of Prescott's historical works in twenty-two volumes, to be called the Montezuma edition. It will be illustrated by one hundred and ten photogravure plates by Goupil and will be limited to one hundred copies.

Houghton, Mifflin and Company have commenced the publication of *The American Statesmen*, second series. The first volume, just published, has already been noted: *James G. Blaine*, by Edward Stanwood. Three others are in preparation: *John Sherman*, by Theodore E. Burton; *Ulysses S. Grant*, by Samuel W. McCall; and *William McKinley*, by T. C. Dawson.

Of interest to students of American history will be the fifth volume of the series *Zürcher Beiträge zur Rechtswissenschaft: Der Bundesstaatsbegriff in den Vereinigten Staaten von Amerika von ihrer Unabhängigkeit bis zum Kompromiss von 1850*, by Dr. Ernst Moll (Zürich, Schulthess).

*American Diplomacy, Its Spirit and Achievements*, by John Bassett Moore (Harper), is a brief sketch of the foreign policy of the United

States. With the addition of a chapter on the "Fisheries Questions" it is made up of the articles, somewhat amplified and revised, that appeared in *Harper's Magazine*.

The Statute Law Book Company of Washington, which has already published over thirty reprints of early collections of laws, announces five more works, in photo-facsimile: *Laws for the Government of the District of Louisiana* (Vincennes, 1804); *Laws of the Territory of Louisiana* (St. Louis, 1810); *Acts passed by the General Assembly of the Territory of Missouri* (St. Louis, 1819); *Journal of the Missouri State Convention* (St. Louis, 1820); *Private, Local, and Temporary Laws passed at the ninth and tenth sessions of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Kansas* (Lincoln, 1873). A limited edition of fifty copies of each volume has been printed.

Of bibliographical interest to the student of German-American affairs will be the contribution by Edward Z. Davis, commencing in the *German American Annals* for October: "List of Translations of German Prose, and List of Articles on the German Countries". This list "is intended to show the amount of information about Germany, Austria, Switzerland, etc., which was presented to the readers of the early American magazines".

Two works, of widely different character, relating to the Jews in America have been published this fall. *The Jews of South Carolina*, by Rabbi Barnett A. Elzas (J. B. Lippincott Company), is based on original local materials, notable among which are the recently rediscovered records of the Congregation Beth Elohim, which, like so much other material in South Carolina, were supposed to have been destroyed in the burning of Columbia. The edition is limited to 175 volumes. *The Jews in America*, by Madison C. Peters (John C. Winston Company), while covering a wider field than the work of Dr. Elzas, is altogether sketchy in character and does not pretend to original investigation.

Two noteworthy contributions to the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia for June should be mentioned: "Monsignor Adrian J. Croquet, Indian Missionary", by Rev. J. Van der Heyden, and "Sketch of the Chevalier de la Luzerne, French Minister to the United States, from 1779 to 1783", by James J. Walsh.

We note the publication by the Appletons of *The Journal of Latrobe*, "being the notes and sketches of an architect, naturalist, and traveler in the United States from 1796 to 1820". There are chapters on Virginia and its people, a visit to Washington at Mt. Vernon, Philadelphia, New Orleans, the building of the national capitol, and other subjects of interest. A biographical introduction is furnished by J. H. B. Latrobe, while the editing is the labor of Benjamin Henry Latrobe.

#### ITEMS CHRONOLOGICALLY ARRANGED.

We note the appearance of *Fr. Bartolomé de las Casas: Eine historische Skizze*, by Professor Dr. Otto Wältz (Bonn, M. Hager).

James A. Robertson has translated and edited for the Arthur H. Clark Company Pigafetta's *Magellan's Voyage around the World*. The Italian text, accompanied by a page-for-page translation into English, has been accurately transcribed from the early sixteenth-century Ambrosian MS. of Milan, and is for the first time accessible in a complete and unchanged form. An index and bibliography have been added, together with an early map illustrating Magellan's discoveries in the far east, while the original charts are carefully reproduced.

*Hernando Cortés*, by Frederick A. Ober (Harper), is rather historical than biographical, for considerably the major part of it is devoted to the Spanish conquest of Mexico.

A sumptuous product of the Riverside Press is George Parker Winship's collection of *Sailors' Narratives of Voyages along the New England Coast, 1524-1624*. Mr. Winship has selected for this volume the accounts of Verrazano, Gosnold, Pring, Champlain, Weymouth, Popham and Gilbert, Hudson, Argall, John Smith, and Dermer. The editing is from the most authoritative texts, an introductory note has been supplied for each narrative, and facsimiles of maps and title-pages have been inserted.

The next contribution to the Trail Makers series (A. S. Barnes) will be *The Voyages and Explorations of Samuel de Champlain, narrated by Himself*, the 1532 *Voyages* freshly translated by Annie Nettleton Bourne, and edited with an introduction by Professor E. G. Bourne.

Another volume has been added to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, bringing the calendar to the close of 1698.

The publication of *Franklin in History*, by William MacDonald, announced for this past fall by McClure, Phillips, and Company, has been postponed until spring.

We have received *A Contribution to a Bibliography of Thomas Jefferson*, compiled by Richard Holland Johnston of the Library of Congress, and separately printed from the Memorial edition of the *Writings of Thomas Jefferson*. The compilation does not pretend to completeness, but is rather "an attempt, in the main, to indicate the books and articles in periodicals in the Library of Congress". The bibliography is in two parts: "Jefferson's Writings" and "Books and Articles in Magazines relative to Thomas Jefferson". The arrangement of the entries is, rather curiously, chronological, but the obvious obstacles thus created are removed by a thorough alphabetical index. Descriptive notes add to the value of the bibliography.

Volumes IV., V., and VI. of the *Journals of the Continental Congress*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, are to be issued immediately by the Library of Congress. They cover the year 1776.

*A Memoir of the First Treasurer of the United States*, by Rev. Michael Reed Minnich (Philadelphia, published for the author), is a brief sketch of Michael Hillegas, followed by chronological compilations

from the *Votes* of the Assembly of New Jersey and from the *Journals of Congress*, relating to Hillegas and his office.

*Stark's Independent Command at Bennington*, written by Herbert D. Foster, with the collaboration of Thomas W. Streeter, has been reprinted from the proceedings of the New York Historical Association for 1905. Valuable appendixes are included: a calendar of documents on Bennington battle and campaign, a complete list of contemporary sources, a bibliography of recent accounts not included in Winsor's bibliographies, and a table showing the daily positions and movements of the various commanders in July-August, 1777.

The *Journal of Captain Henry Hamilton* (August 6, 1778-June 16, 1779), kept during his expedition from Detroit to Vincennes, and recently acquired by the Harvard Library, will soon be printed by the university.

A contemporary account of the Battle of Guilford Court House is printed in the November *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* in the form of a letter from Colonel William Campbell to Charles Cummings, Aspen-Ville, March 28, 1781.

The *Documentary History of the Constitution* published by the Department of State has been supplemented by a fourth volume, which contains letters and papers from the archives of the department relating to the Convention and Constitution to July 31, 1788. A fifth volume and a general index are to follow.

One of the most noteworthy publications of the year is the privately printed volume of *Letters from George Washington to Tobias Lear*. Here are found thirty-eight letters from Washington to his secretary, ranging from 1786 to 1798, but mostly from 1790 to 1793. They relate largely to household and personal matters, such as would be a subject of correspondence with a private secretary, but some, especially those written in 1793-1794, when Lear was abroad, relate to public affairs. One of them in particular (May 6, 1794) should be mentioned, for in it Washington dwells at length upon politics and the attitude in America toward England; it is in this letter, also, that he expresses himself as anxious to liberate his slaves, could he see his way clear to do so. In an appendix are given several miscellaneous letters and documents, including the instructions to Washington from Congress of June 22, 1775, upon his appointment as commander-in-chief, eleven Revolutionary letters from Washington to various persons, and five letters, likewise to various persons, between 1786 and 1799. The originals of these letters, most of which have not been printed before, are in the collection of William K. Bixby of St. Louis, who purchased those to Lear from the estate of John Fiske. A memoir of Tobias Lear and editorial notes have been supplied by William H. Samson. The volume is for private distribution only.

The *Bulletin of the New York Public Library* for September prints a letter from Andrew Jackson to President Monroe (Nashville, Decem-

ber 20, 1817) expressing his approbation of the presidential message. In the October and November numbers are two letters from Madison to Monroe (September 22, and July 26, 1816) on alleged Spanish intriguing, and on slavery in the West Indies.

In commemoration of the centennial anniversary of Garrison's birth (December 10, 1805) his children have selected from their four-volume biography extracts from his writings characteristic of his sentiments and have included them, together with the biographical sketch prepared for the memorial volume of the city of Boston (1886), and an appendix of portraits, bibliography, and chronology, in a small volume: *The Words of Garrison* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

*A Life of Stephen A. Douglas*, by William Gardner, has been recently put forth by the Roxburgh Press of Boston. It is a small octavo volume of some 240 pages, and while its author claims for it the credit of being an original work he has given no notes or references in substantiation of his claim. It is based largely on the biographies by Sheahan and Flint and upon search in the *Congressional Globe*. It is unfortunate that the principal source for a life of Douglas was destroyed when the Douglas papers were burned in Washington. The few that remain in the hands of his son, Robert M. Douglas of North Carolina, are fragmentary and of but small value.

Through arrangements with the Century Company the Francis D. Tandy Company have brought out a twelve-volume edition of Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*. Much new material has been incorporated and a general introduction has been written by Richard Watson Gilder.

Another volume has been added to the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, edited by Charles W. Stewart. It is Volume XIX. of Series I. and is devoted to the manoeuvres of the West Gulf Blockading Squadron from July 15, 1862, to March 14, 1863.

The sixth volume of the *Journals of Congress of the Confederate States* has lately come from the Government Printing Office. It contains the House journals of the third and fourth sessions of the first Congress: January 12-May 1, 1863, and December 7, 1863-February 17, 1864.

A group of lately published volumes relating to the Civil War should receive fuller notice than is possible here. Mainly a military study is *The Fredericksburg Campaign, 1861-1864: a Strategic Sketch*, by Major G. W. Redway (Swan Sonnenschein and Company). Two volumes are by ex-Confederate officers and relate largely to their own experiences: *Recollections of a Confederate Staff Officer*, by the late General G. Moxley Sorrel; and *The War between the Union and the Confederacy and its Lost Opportunities*, by General William C. Oates (both by Neale Publishing Company). A book which deals mainly with the causes of the conflict, written from the southern point of view, is *The Brothers' War*, by John C. Reed (Little, Brown and Company), while

on the biographical side should be mentioned the latest of the "Crisis Biographies"; *William T. Sherman*, by Edward Robbins (Jacobs).

Scribner's Sons have published a new and somewhat less expensive edition of General Gordon's *Reminiscences of the Civil War*. The text is unchanged.

We note recent accounts of three Civil-War military organizations: *A History of "Battery A" of St. Louis*, by Valentine M. Porter, published by the Missouri Historical Society; Michael Hanifen's *History of Battery B, First New Jersey Artillery*; and *History of the Third Pennsylvania Cavalry, Sixtieth Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers in the American Civil War*.

#### LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER.

The exploitation of New England local history goes constantly forward. Since our last number four volumes have made their appearance: *Mount Desert, a History*, by the late George E. Street, edited by Samuel A. Eliot (Houghton, Mifflin and Company); *History of the Town of Rye, New Hampshire*, by Langdon Brown Parsons (published by the author); *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, by Franklin T. Waters (published by the Ipswich Historical Society); and *A History of the Town of Middleboro, Mass.*, by Thomas Weston (Houghton, Mifflin and Company).

*The Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, Volume VII. (Boston, The Society, 1905, pp. xix, 454) is devoted to the transactions of the period from April, 1900, to April, 1902. Among the more important communications are those on Captain Thomas Preston and the Boston Massacre, presenting new documents and details; on the term "Brother Jonathan" and on the term "Indian summer", by Mr. Albert Matthews; unpublished diaries of Washington, extending from September 27, 1785, to April 30, 1786, presented by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and accompanied by several letters of Washington; an unpublished letter and report on the condition of the Massachusetts colony about 1639, by the Reverend Edmund Browne; and the journal kept by Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Vose on the expedition against Canada in 1776. A generous donation from Mr. F. Lewis Gay will enable the society to print an additional volume containing the early records of Harvard College.

We have just received an encouraging illustration of the advantages of co-operation between public officials and historical experts in the publication of original records, in the form of Volume I. of *The Records of the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire, 1761-1818*, being "the records of the town meetings, and of the selectmen, comprising all of the first volume of records". In the town-meetings of 1903 and 1904 appropriations were made for copying and printing the early records, and an editing committee was appointed, consisting of Professor Herbert D. Foster, Mr. George M. Bridgman, the town clerk, and Professor

Sidney B. Fay. An exact copy has been printed, the original pagination being clearly indicated by bracketed heavy-face type, and indexes to names, subjects, and places are provided.

The extensive mass of Winthrop manuscripts possessed by the late R. C. Winthrop, Jr., has passed into the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The Directors of the Old South Work have brought out, under the title *The Story of Massachusetts*, the last eight of the Old South Leaflets, numbers 153 to 160, which accompanied the Old South lectures during the summer of 1905. The leaflets are as follows: The Voyage of the "Mayflower", from Bradford's *History*; The Planting of Colonies in New England, from John White's *The Planter's Plea*; Captain Thomas Wheeler's Narrative of the Fight with the Indians at Brookfield, 1675; The Lexington Town Meetings from 1765 to 1775; *The Lowell Offering*, October 1845; Governor Andrew's Address to the Massachusetts Legislature, May 14, 1861; Selections from the Poems of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet; and Memorials of the First Graduates of Harvard College, by John Farmer.

The second publication of the Club for Colonial Reprints, just issued, bears the title *Boston in 1682 and 1699*. It consists of two rare tracts: Edward Ward's "A Trip to New England", and "A Letter from New England", by "J. W.". Edward Ward was the editor of the *London Spy* and a well-known pamphleteer, while "J. W.", whoever he was, was an enthusiastic partizan of Edward Randolph. Both tracts are bitterly hostile to New England and were written for popular consumption in London. The introduction to the volume, by George Parker Winship, deals with contemporary affairs and social conditions in Boston, and quotations from leading clergymen are included, which tend to confirm many of the statements in the tracts. One hundred copies of the volume have been printed.

We have received an attractive pamphlet printed by Dr. Samuel Abbott Green and containing his address delivered at Groton, Massachusetts, on the celebration, in July, of the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of the town. The address deals in an entertaining way with local history, and in an appendix are included comments on the name of Groton, the records of the two-hundredth anniversary, and a list of the towns established in Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies prior to 1655.

H. R. Hunting and Company of Springfield, Massachusetts, have reprinted in separate form the introduction by George Sheldon to the new edition of Judd's *History of Hadley*. The pamphlet bears the title *Whalley and Goffe in New England, An Enquiry into the Angel of Hadley Legend*.

The leading article in the October number of the *Historical Collections of the Essex Institute* is an entertaining account, by Sallie H. Hacker, of "The Society of Friends at Lynn, Mass." In the same



number two documents are printed: a letter from General Denison, bearing date of March 19, 1676, relating to the crossing of the Merrimac by the Indians, and the report of the military committee, March 29, 1676, containing an account of the garrisons in Essex county towns.

A timely contribution to Massachusetts biography is a *Memoir of Colonel Henry Lee*, by John T. Morse, Jr. (Little, Brown and Company). The memoir, which is followed by selections from the writings and speeches of Colonel Lee, is hardly a biography, but rather a biographical sketch dealing with the subject's early life, his career in the Civil War, and his connection with Harvard.

Dr. James J. Putnam's *Memoir of Dr. James Jackson, with a sketch of his Father and Brother and of his Ancestry* (Houghton, Mifflin and Company), will be of general interest, as well as of moment to Bostonians. Dr. Jackson was a Boston physician of prominence in the first part of the last century, his brother Charles was on the supreme bench of Massachusetts from 1813 to 1824, and his father, Jonathan Jackson, a Newburyport merchant, was a delegate to Congress and held various state offices.

Notwithstanding its title, *Newport, Our Social Capital*, by Mrs. John King Van Rensselaer (J. B. Lippincott) contains several historical chapters. The general history of Newport is recounted at length and there are chapters on naval heroes, slave-ships and pirates, institutions, churches, etc. The volume is nobly illustrated, and the edition is limited to 347 copies.

A local history that displays the evidences of considerable research is *The Eagle's History of Poughkeepsie, 1683-1905*, by Edmund Platt (Poughkeepsie, Platt and Platt). The historical account occupies 267 double-columned pages, while the customary material relating to distinguished citizens and prominent institutions is relegated to an appendix of less than one hundred pages.

The recently organized Pennsylvania History Club is composed of about forty members. The active membership of the club is limited to those who have done work of recognized value in Pennsylvania history, and its object is to aid in the collection of historical material, promote historical research, and to study and discuss Pennsylvania history and related subjects. Five meetings a year will be held, in the building of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The following officers have been elected: president, C. M. Andrews; vice-presidents, H. V. Ames and Sydney George Fisher; secretary and treasurer, Albert Cook Myers.

The third part of Volume I. of the *Transactions* of the Historical Society of Dauphin County, Pennsylvania, contains the proceedings of the society's meetings from January, 1904, to June, 1905. Among the addresses delivered before the society may be mentioned that by Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker on "Fort Washington [Harrisburg] in 1863"; and "A Journey from Harris' Ferry to Shamokin in 1747", by Dr. John W. Jordan.

The September number of the *Publications* of the Southern History Association contains important contributions: "Lafayette's Campaign in Virginia", by M. J. Wright, is concluded; under the title "The Making of the Confederate Constitution", A. L. Hull prints a series of extracts from the almost daily letters of Thomas R. R. Cobb, member of the Provisional Congress from Georgia, to his wife, and Cobb's notes on the Confederate constitution; a brief sketch by Luis M. Pérez on "French Refugees to New Orleans in 1809" is followed under the same title by documents selected from Claiborne's correspondence in the State Department; and "McHenry Papers", communicated by Bernard C. Steiner, include letters between the years 1785 and 1815.

In the *South Atlantic Quarterly* for October, William Henry Mann presents a sketch of "The Ancestry of General Robert E. Lee", attempting to demonstrate that the study of genealogy is a necessary adjunct to the study of history. In the same issue is the second part of Professor David Y. Thomas's "Executive Prerogative in the United States", while Hon. Junius Davis, in the first instalment of his "Some Facts about John Paul Jones", stoutly upholds the North Carolina tradition that Jones took his adopted name from one or other of the brothers Allen and Willie Jones. "The Franklin Bi-Centenary" is a rather severely critical account of Franklin as a writer, by Professor Edwin W. Bowen.

Aside from continued and concluded series of documents the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* for October contains "The Treaty of Logg's Town, 1752", including the commission, instructions, journal of the Virginia commissioners, text of the treaty, etc. and the text of the treaty of Lancaster, 1744, the confirmation of which by the Six Nations was the object of the treaty of Logg's Town.

President Lyon G. Tyler has printed a small pamphlet on *Early Courses and Professors at William and Mary College*, being an extract from his address delivered before the Alpha Chapter of the Phi Beta Kappa Society on December 5, 1904.

A sign of the growing interest in Southern local history is the publication of the first part of *Historic Camden*, by Thomas J. Kirkland and Robert M. Kennedy (Columbia, State Company). The volume is devoted to the colonial and Revolutionary history of the town and contains in an appendix some original material in the form of two diaries: that of Samuel Mathis is from March to August, 1781, while a journal of very brief entries by James Kershaw extends over the years 1791-1815.

The second part of Woodbury Lowery's *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States* (Putnam's Sons) bears the subtitle *Florida, 1562-1574*.

The fourth annual report of Dunbar Rowland, as director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, shows that much has been accomplished during the year in the collection of historical material, and in the arrangement and classification of the archives. In

accordance with the plan outlined in the third report for the publication of official archives, the executive journals of territorial governors Sargent and Claiborne have been edited and printed; these will be noticed at greater length in a subsequent issue.

The leading article in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association for July is a valuable contribution, "The Diplomatic Relations of England and the Republic of Texas", by J. L. Worley. The study is based chiefly upon the diplomatic, consular and domestic correspondence of the Republic of Texas in the State Library at Austin. "John H. Reagan", by Walter F. McCaleb, is a character and biographical sketch of the Confederate Postmaster-General.

An anonymous MS., the author of which has been identified as Elias Pym Fordham, has been brought to light by the Arthur H. Clark Company: *Personal Narrative of Travels in Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky; and of a Residence in the Illinois Territory: 1817-1818*, edited by Frederick Austin Ogg. Fordham was a young Englishman who assisted Morris Birkbeck in establishing his Illinois settlement, and made many journeys in the middle west, land-hunting for new emigrants. The narrative abounds in comments on persons and manners, agriculture, politics, prices, slavery, etc.

Volumes XIX. and XX. of Dr. Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* contain George W. Ogden's "Letters from the West", William Bullock's "Sketch of a Journey through the Western States", and Josiah Gregg's "Commerce of the Prairies". Of these the first two are of minor importance, being interesting as accounts of the Ohio valley and Cincinnati about 1825, but the third is a classic, a careful and accurate history of the Santa Fé trade.

*Audubon's Western Journal: 1849-1850* is published for the first time by A. H. Clark Company. John W. Audubon, son of the ornithologist, was a member of Colonel Webb's California expedition, which left New York in February, 1849. With a view to publication he kept a journal of his trip to Texas and through Mexico and Arizona, but the manuscript was never printed. In the present volume are included a biographical memoir by his daughter, Maria A. Audubon, editorial matter by Professor Frank H. Hodder, a map, portrait, and original drawings.

A reprint of Captain Philip Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi* (London, 1770) is put forth by the Arthur H. Clark Company, thus making once more available an authoritative and extremely rare source. The reprint is edited by Professor Frank H. Hodder.

The "*Old Northwest*" *Genealogical Quarterly* for October, a double number, is devoted to the Granville, Ohio, centennial. The opening article, by Professor F. W. Shepardson, on "The Historic Setting of Granville", should be noted. The remaining contributions are for the

most part of the usual type, reminiscences, biographical sketches, extracts from records, accounts of local churches, etc., etc.

Of most general interest in the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October are "Water Highways and Carrying Places", by E. L. Taylor, "The Underground Railroad", by S. S. Knabenshue, and "Early Cincinnati", by Joseph Wilby.

The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has published a *History of the Ohio Canals*, with particular reference to their construction, cost, use, and partial abandonment. The work was prepared by graduate students of the Ohio State University, C. P. McClelland and C. C. Huntington, under the direction of Professor J. E. Hagerly. Another publication by the same society is *The Serpent Mound, Adams County, Ohio*, a compilation by the secretary, E. O. Randall, giving descriptions of the serpent mound, and summarizing the literature respecting the worship of the serpent.

The contents of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* for the "third quarter" (the date of issue is not otherwise indicated, an omission which it would seem desirable to remedy) are not especially noteworthy. A few letters of John Gibson, 1812, acting governor of Indiana Territory, respecting Indian attacks, should be mentioned, as should also a brief account of the "Howe Collection" of books and pamphlets relating to Indiana, in the Indianapolis Public Library.

The Pioneer and Historical Society of Michigan intends to print in several volumes a translation of the papers printed in Margry's *Mémoires et Documents*. Pains are being taken to collate the originals, and it is expected that additional documents will be included.

In the *State Review* for November 4, under the title "A Michigan Library", is an account by Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit, of the manuscripts relating to Michigan that he has been engaged in collecting for the last thirty-five years.

The first fruits of the endeavor by the Illinois State Historical Library to make a survey of the county archives within the state appear in the form of *Bulletin No. 1*, a small pamphlet bearing the title *Illinois in the Eighteenth Century* and the subtitle "A Report on the Documents in the St. Clair County Court House, Belleville, Illinois, Illustrating the Early History of the State". The work has been done by Professor Clarence W. Alvord and is careful and thorough. As an archive-report, however, it seems to be less successful than as an account of the early institutions of Illinois. It is undoubtedly desirable to fashion such a work somewhat after the manner of a descriptive bibliography; Mr. Alvord has, however, given a bare list, covering a page and a half, which is rather swallowed up in over thirty pages of history.

*Some Indian Land-Marks of the North Shore* is the title of a small pamphlet printed by the Chicago Historical Society, being an address

delivered before the society by Frank R. Grover. Stone implements, Indian trees, traces of Indian trails, camps and villages, to be found along the lake shore to the north of Chicago are described, and a few photographs are inserted.

The annual meeting of the Wisconsin State Historical Society was held at Madison on November 9. Two sessions were held, that in the afternoon being devoted to business and reports. The report of the superintendent showed an addition in the last year of over 12,500 titles to the library, the estimated strength of which is at present about 272,500 titles. Among the publications of the society now in preparation none will be of more interest and importance than a report on the manuscript collections possessed by the society, which will include mention of important manuscript material to be found in Wisconsin. At the evening session several papers were read: "Historic Sites Around Green Bay", by Arthur C. Neville; "Duluth, the Fur-Trader", by Henry Colin Campbell; "Early Wisconsin Travels Prior to 1800", by Henry E. Legler; and "The Impeachment of Judge Hubbell", by Dr. John B. Sanborn.

*The History of Agriculture in Dane County, Wisconsin*, by Professor Benjamin H. Hibbard, published over a year ago as Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 101, marks a beginning in a new field of American economic history. In Part I. early conditions are described, the immigration of settlers, the purchase of land from the government, the selection of land, the difficulties of early farming, the monopoly of wheat as a crop, and the problem of transportation. In Part II. the transition from simple to complex agriculture is indicated, the history of hops and tobacco growing, and the rise of the dairy industry are treated and consideration is given to the size of farms, land values and density of population.

In the *Thirteenth Biennial Report* of the Minnesota Historical Society should be noted a full list of the contents of the eleven volumes of the society's *Collections*.

The October number of the *Annals of Iowa* contains a short sketch of Judge Joseph Williams by Edward H. Stiles, and the conclusion of Ida M. Street's article, composed largely of documents, on "The Simon Cameron Indian Commission of 1838". The principal contribution to this number is a lengthy biographical account of Constantine Samuel Rafinesque, by T. J. Fitzpatrick. Rafinesque, who was born in Constantinople in 1783 and died in Philadelphia in 1840, was one of the early investigators in the field of American natural history, whose fame is entirely incommensurate with his services.

"The Early Swedish Immigration to Iowa", by George T. Flom, is the single paper of historical import in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October.

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The Missouri Historical Society has recently obtained from Spain a number of transcripts of documents of considerable historical value, and from the National Archives of Cuba two elaborate censuses of St. Louis and its districts in 1787 and 1791, discovered there by Mr. Luis M. Pérez in the course of his searches on behalf of the Carnegie Institution.

The Historical Department of the University of Oregon is planning a co-operative bibliography of the history of the Northwest.

*Vikings of the Pacific*, by Miss Agnes C. Laut (Macmillan), is a companion volume to her *Pathfinders of the West*. It is biographical in form and deals with the adventures and discoveries of Bering, Gray, Cook, Vancouver, Benyowsky, Drake, and Ledyard.

In the March and June issues of the Oregon Historical Society's *Quarterly* should be noted "The Higher Significance in the Lewis and Clark Expedition", by F. G. Young; "The Story of Lewis and Clark's Journals", by Reuben Gold Thwaites; "Origin of Pacific University", by James R. Robertson; and "The Political Beginnings of Washington Territory", by Thomas W. Prosch. An interesting document commenced in the March number is "Dr. John Scouler's Journal of a Voyage to N. W. America"; Dr. Scouler was ship surgeon on the Hudson Bay Company's vessel "William and Anne" and his journal is from July, 1824, to the early part of 1826.

Principal William I. Marshall of Chicago has recently published a thirty-six page pamphlet, bearing the title *The Hudson's Bay Company's Archives Furnish no Support to the Whitman Saved Oregon Story*, in which "seven pure fictions of the Whitmanites" are set forth and the entire absence of any supporting evidence demonstrated.

We are glad to note that a movement is under foot in California to secure scientific treatment of the public records of the state. A committee of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, of which Professor C. A. Duniway was chairman, was appointed to investigate the condition of the archives and recommend measures for their preservation. They conferred with the governor and other officials of the state, and after an examination of the records recommended that such of the archives as are mainly of historical value should be placed in the State Library, where they should be arranged, catalogued, and made accessible. It is to be hoped that the legislation necessary to carry out the recommendation of the committee will be effected by the next legislature.

An interesting contribution, not without value, to California history is George Wharton James's *In and About the Old Missions of California* (Little, Brown and Company). A general history of the missions is followed by accounts of individual missions in which history and description are combined. The author does not claim originality for his work except in the chapter on the Indians and their relations to the missions, and in the purely descriptive chapters.

Those who are interested in the history of the Philippines will be glad to learn that the *Archivo del Bibliófilo Filipino*, four volumes of which appeared between 1895 and 1898, is to be continued under its former editor, Señor W. E. Retana. The purpose of the work is to publish such original sources as are now inaccessible outside the archives and libraries of Europe, bibliographies relating to the Philippines, and results of research in Philippine history. The fifth volume, which is now in press, will contain documents dating from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, political and scientific studies by J. Rizal, and a bibliography. It is published by the house of V. Suárez, Madrid.

During the latter part of the year some five volumes relating to the Philippines have appeared. *Our Philippine Policy*, by Henry Parker Willis (Holt), is not historical but is a criticism of the insular policy of the government by a bitter opponent. Two of the volumes are mainly descriptive, but with brief historical accounts: *Philippine Life in Town and Country*, by James A. LeRoy (Putnam's Sons), and *The Philippine Islands*, by Fred W. Atkinson, first general superintendent of education in the Philippines (Ginn and Company). Both are well illustrated and entertainingly written by men familiar with their subjects. The remaining volumes are wholly historical and are designed for school use. *A History of the Philippines*, by David P. Barrows, general superintendent of public instruction (American Book Company), is to serve as an introduction to the study of the history of Malaysia; but a comparatively small part of the 320-page book is devoted to American control. Much the same should be said respecting Prescott F. Jernegan's *A Short History of the Philippines* (Appleton).

Dr. A. G. Dougherty's second report as Archivist of the Dominion of Canada will contain a summary of the documents relating to that country in the Depot of Fortifications in Paris; also a very interesting journal of Jean La Roque, written in 1752.

The first publications of the recently organized Champlain Society will be a volume on Seigneurial Tenures and a volume of the Cartwright Papers.

The most recent additions to the "Makers of Canada" series (Toronto, Morang) are *Champlain*, by N. E. Dionne, and *Mackenzie, Selkirk and Simpson*, by Reverend George Bryce.

Volume XII. of the Nova Scotia Historical Society's *Collections* is made up of three biographical sketches by James S. Macdonald: "Hon. Edward Cornwallis, Founder of Halifax", "Life and Administration of Governor Charles Lawrence", and "Richard Bulkeley". Each is based on original research and is accompanied by a portrait, that of Cornwallis, taken from the only known and recently discovered picture, at Gibraltar, being especially noteworthy.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has published as Bulletin 28 (58 Cong., 3 Sess., Ho. Doc. 477) a volume on *Mexican and Central*



*American Antiquities, Calendar Systems, and History*, a collection of twenty-four papers by Eduard Scler, E. Förstemann, Paul Schellhas, Carl Sapper, and E. P. Dieseldorff, translated from the German under the supervision of Charles P. Bowditch.

A German contribution to South American studies is *Die Mythen und Legenden der südamerikanischen Urvölker und ihre Beziehungen zu denen Nordamerikas und der alten Welt*, by P. Ehrenreich (Berlin, A. Asher u. Co.).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Bellemo, *Su due Errori nei Viaggi dei Caboto e sul Cosmografo Salvat[ore] de Pilestrine* (Nuovo Archivio Veneto, N. S., Vol. IX., Part 1); Martin I. J. Griffin, *The Commodores of the Navy of the United Colonies: Hopkins, Jones, Barry* (Appleton's Booklovers Magazine, November); C. O. Paullin, *The Administration of the Continental Navy of the American Revolution* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, Volume XXXI.); William MacDonald, *The Fame of Franklin* (Atlantic Monthly, October); Rear-Admiral S. B. Luce, *Commodore Biddle's Visit to Japan in 1846* (Proceedings of the United States Naval Institute, September); M. A. De Wolfe Howe, ed., *Letters and Diaries of George Bancroft*, II. *Student Days in Europe*, III. *Paris from 1847 to 1849* (Scribner's Magazine, October, November); Calvin Dill Wilson, *Black Masters: A Side-Light on Slavery* (North American Review, November); Frederick Trevor Hill, *Lincoln the Lawyer*, I. (Century Magazine, December); William Garrott Brown, *The Tenth Decade of the United States*, V. *Andrew Johnson and "My Policy"* (Atlantic, December); Frederick E. Snow, *Unpublished Letters of Horace Greeley* (Independent, October 19); Carl Schurz, *Reminiscences of a Long Life*, II. (McClure's Magazine, December); Joseph Schafer, *Sources of Northwestern History* (Library Journal, October); Melvin G. Dodge, *California as a Place of Residence for the Scholar* (Library Journal, October); Bryan J. Clinch, *The Destruction of the California Missions* (The American Catholic Quarterly Review, October); W. E. Retana, *Vida y Escritos del Dr. José Rizal* (Nuestro Tiempo, November); G. O. Bent, *The Dutch Conquest of Acadia* (Acadiensis, October); A. McF. Davis, *Emergent Treasury-Supply in Massachusetts in Early Days* (Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, N. S., XVII, 1).